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November Number.

1937

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
24 JAN 1940
MADRAS

THE NEW AGE

IV ● 6

MS 18/7/84

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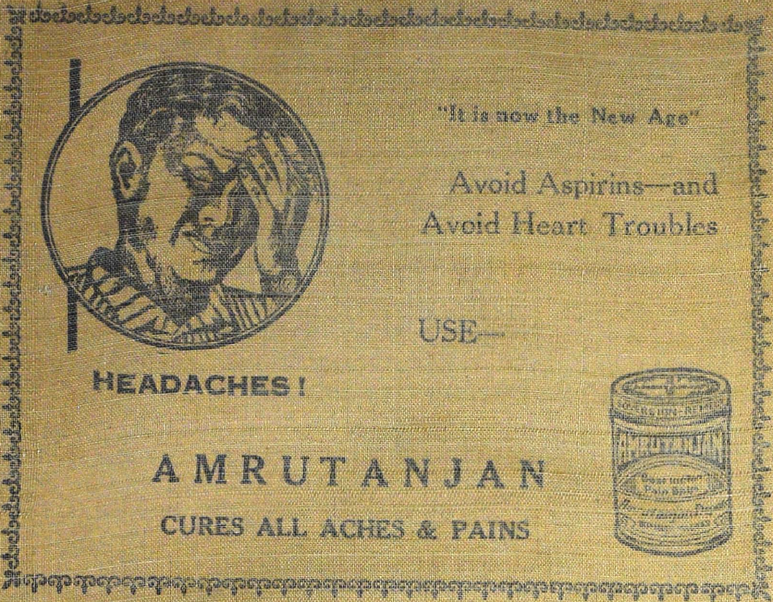

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(Published on the 15th of Every Month)

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24 JAN 1940
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THE NEW AGE

VOL. IV SPECIAL NOVEMBER ISSUE NO 6

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION.

The November day is on us. It marks the completion of two decades of victorious Socialism in one—sixth of the world. On this day we celebrate the greatest event in the history of the modern man. It is an event which will be remembered by the countless generations to come as the first red dawn of the NEW AGE of human civilisation and culture. On this day we recall the first victorious blow that was struck against a decadent social order. Capitalism, which forces starvation and misery on the toilers, which spells enslavement and degradation for whole continents of the "backward" peoples and which brings the mass brutalities of war and Fascism in its trail, sustained its first big defeat on this historic day.

Two decades are but a moment in the history of humanity; but there are moments which become decisive for all future developments. The November Revolution, the victorious building of Socialism in Russia, the onward march to a world November—these have set the feet of humanity on to a new path. Heedless of the learned demagogy of the capitalist lackeys undaunted by the torture chambers of the fascist fiends, unmindful of the brutal repression of Imperialism, an ever swelling number is marching forward guided by the Red Star of November.

Faith Becomes a Fact.

In the dawn of early civilisation, the ancient seers sang to the groaning slave, the song of universal human brotherhood and love. It helped him little. To the millions of proletarians who were building industrial civilisation under the whip of the capitalist, Marx gave the vision of a classless society—of a mighty civilisation of common human endeavour, in which exploitation shall have no place. He gave them the call to struggle, to seize and turn the very means of their own enslavement into the weapons of their emancipation—of the emancipation of mankind as a whole. Workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of their Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin, are realising the vision of Marx. The faith of the seers of old is on the way to

become a fact but in an entirely new way and a new form.

Shots In The Winter Palace Herald a New Era.

On the November Day, twenty years ago, the canons of the "Aurora" boomed against the Winter palace of St. Petersburg. They were the first strokes of the tocsin ringing the death knell of Capitalism. They were at the same time the gun salute heralding the era of revolutionary struggles in the new stage of human history. Since then, these shots have found resounding echoes in every part of the world. Soon after, the flag of Soviet Revolution was raised in the war trenches of Europe, in the streets of Berlin, Munich, Rome and Budapest—in the mighty demonstrations and struggles in England and America. This first wave of world wide Soviet revolutions was broken. But the flag of November has continued to march forward winning ever new adherents. It has become the symbol of a new path of struggle, of a new programme.

The organised army of the proletarians of Europe and America was under the spell of an opportunist leadership. In the name of Nationalism it was asked to fight Imperialist wars, to participate in the slaughter of their class—brothers. In the name of democracy it was made to uphold the Capitalist state and its tyranny. In the name of Class—peace it was forced to submit to rationalisation, wage—cut and mass unemployment. In the name of civilisation it was asked to acquiesce in the enslavement of the colonial peoples. It was being led along the path of surrender and defeat.

November Calling—"To All, To All, To All"

Twenty years ago there rang out a call on the ether waves from the Radio Tower of Moscow—"TO ALL, TO ALL, TO ALL." It called for peace among nations but for a war to the knife against the class which was enslaving the world. It called for a relentless struggle against Capitalism and sham democracy and for Soviet power, for the democracy of the workers and toilers. It called for class organisation, for class struggle, for the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants. It called for the freedom and self—determination of the enslaved peoples, for the support of their national revolutionary struggles and for independence. It called upon the toiling people of the world to line up with the Russian toilers in the onward march from the Russian November to a world November.

Millions of proletarians heard the call but only a minority took the November road and rallied round the November flag, the flag of the communist International. The Communists in every country struck out bravely for the new path of struggle, faced tortures and gallows in their heroic effort to win the majority of the toilers for the revolution. Their ranks grew in number and influence; but the majority of people remained still under the influence of the compromisers.

The rising tide of Communism was strong enough to strike panic in the hearts of the Capitalists. It was not strong enough by itself to resist the Fascist attack which came as the result of the panic and the rapid disintegration of capitalism. Labour organisations were crushed. The meagre liberties of bourgeois democracy were liquidated. The incendiary gang of Fascists started a bloody war of oppression against the peoples of Spain and China. A war bloc of fascists states against the Soviet Union has begun to mature abetted by, other Imperialist States.

The Lessons learnt Slowly and Painfully.

But the lessons of November are being learnt slowly and painfully. The stormy events of the second decade are slowly but surely bringing to the

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consciousness of the proletarians and the toiling and exploited peoples of the world, the meaning of the glaring contradiction between the world of Capitalism and that of Socialism. On the one hand they see crisis, the will ful destruction of raw materials and of the means of production, unemployment and misery of the millions, the wars of aggression against 'backward' and small nations, and the de-humaning brutalities of Fascism. On the other hand, they see a hundred and sixty million toilers clearing away the rubbish of old social relations, building with the powerful hand of collective endeavour, a world of new values, which has no place for unemployment, for insecurity and for exploitation of man by man. They see before their eyes the edifice of a New human civilisation and culture rising, brick by brick.

For years the great army of world proletarians and toilers, misled by false prophets and betrayed by opportunist leaders stumbled along the path of compromise and collaboration with the exploiters. It brought disintegration in their ranks, a temporary defeat at the hands of the Fascists. But now the great swing forward has come. The heroic sacrifices which thousands of Communists made on the road to November are bearing fruit. A single proletarian front of struggle against Capitalism, for which the Communists have all along fought, is being built. Socialists, Communists and even bourgeois radicals are to day rallying in the same front with the masses of the proletarians, to fight the menace of Fascism and war, to defend democracy, to widen it and to fight for Socialism. The mighty victories of the Popular Front in France and Spain, the growing urge of the proletarian masses of Europe and America to join hands with the Communists in the struggle against Fascism, the demonstration of proletarian solidarity in the defence of Spain and China, the steady growth of the "Fires Underground" under the very heels of a Mussolini and Hitler, these are the indications of the new revolutionary upsurge. The lessons of November are being learnt.

A Peoples' Revolution in the Highest Sense of the Word.

The Bolsheviks achieved a victorious November because they were able to win over not only a majority of the proletariat but also the bulk of the peasantry and the exploited people as a whole, to the side of the Revolution. By incessant "*working among all the classes of the people*" they were able to break, link, by link, the powerful chain which binds the toiling masses and the people to a handful of exploiters. They were able to isolate the enemies of Society and to build the irrestible fighting front of the exploited people. The Russian proletariat, under the leadership of its Bolshevik Party, came forward as the unquestionable leader of the toilers and the exploited people as whole, as the builder of a social order which guarantees freedom, security and well being to all the toilers. The historic task of the proletariat is to overthrow Capitalism, to end the gangster rule of Fascists and Imperialists, to close the final chapter of human barbarism. The proletariat is able to accomplish this task only in the measure it is able to build the United Front of the toilers, to rally the fighting front of the people against Fascism, Imperialism and War. This is the lesson of November which is emerging ever clearer out of the struggles of the past two decades, out of the struggles on the battle fields of Spain and China.

The Chinese November.

The wave of national revolutionary struggle which is sweeping today over the dependent countries of the East has proceeded under the influence of the victorious November. During the last decade, millions of the Chinese peasants and workers have rallied round the flag of November and have built the basis of the workers and

peasants rule. The bitter lessons were learnt that the bourgeoisie, the 'good' landlords and the militarists who talked in fervent tones of "nationalism," who marched and fought shoulder to shoulder with the people in the first stages of anti-Imperialist struggle, could as easily turn against the people and accept Imperialist assistance to crush the peoples Revolution. They can succeed in their nefarious work only in the degree that they are able to fool the people to split their front, to isolate the proleteriat—the champion of the popular struggle against Imperialism, from the peasant masses and the people. In the oppressed countries, the bourgeoisie and the landlords can be isolated, their traditional influence over the people broken. They can be faced with the alternative of either marching with the people against the common foe—Imperialism, or be crushed in isolation. This is the lesson which the onward march of the Chinese November teaches us. The Chinese proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has shown how to combine a relentless struggle against the peoples enemies with the building up of the Anti-Imperialist Peoples' Front. Out of the uncompromising struggle of the Chinese Communists against Chang-Kai-Shek is born to-day the mighty unity of the Chinese nation which is effectively resisting the tide of Jappnese aggression in China.

In India it Stands for United Anti—Imperialist Struggle.

November has transformed the character of our national struggle given it a new tone and a new striking force. The November flag is influencing the politics of our country more and more. It is already the unquestioned leader in thousands of workers 'and peasants' demonstrations and struggles. It is the flag which stands above all for unity of the people in their struggle against Imperialism, to achieve the prerequisites of achieving democracy and the well-being of the people. While it is pledged to fight for Socialism, it is determined to fight side by side with the National TRICOLOUR, for independence and for a democratic state.

The Spirit of November inspires the entire Left to-day in India. Socialists, Communists, Trade Union and Kisan workers and radical Congressmen, all look up in admiration to the achievements of the Soviet Union. They may not all agree with the final objective, they may not all interpret the rich experience of the victorious struggle of the Russian proletariat in the same way. But they can and must unite on the immediate objective and on the new path of achieving it. UNITY OF THE LEFT FORCES IN INDIA IS THE URGENT NEED TO-DAY, UNITY TO FORGE THE UNITED FRONT OF NATIONAL STRUGGLE—LINK BY LINK, OUT OF THE EVER SHARPENING STRUGGLES OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS FOR THEIR BASIC DEMANDS AND FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

The task of coming forward as the undaunted initiator and the tireless builder of this unity devolves upon the Indian proletariat. During the past decade it has already come forward as an independent force accelerating and sharpening our national struggle. In the specific situation of to-day when once again the revolutionary upsurge is rising, when the urge for a united struggle is being manifested in the broadening sweep of strikes of workers, peasants and students, of the mass action of the people in the defence of their civic rights, its main task is unity in its own ranks, to achieve the unity of Trade Union organisation, and the unity of action in the impending nation-wide industrial struggle, to integrate its own political struggle with the national struggle, to transform the National Congress and to build it as the irresistible fighting front of the Indian people—for independence.

To the extent we fulfill these tasks—to that extent shall we have learnt the historic lessons of November. The ever swelling army of fighters is marching onwards from the Russian November to the World November-in the trenches of Spain, on the war front of Chapei and Shansi, in the fields and factories and the steppes of the Soviet Union.

On this twentieth anniversary, we greet the Vanguard of this marching army the toiling people of the Soviet Union.

THE SOVIET UNION:

ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS.

By P. R.

The new Soviet Constitution, is a document of world historical importance. For this is the *Charter of the Liberty of the Workers*, who have not only overthrown the rule of the capitalists and the landowners, and destroyed the political yoke of these classes, but have also recast the whole of the country's economy in the Socialist mould and liquidated the classes of the exploiters, and have destroyed the very foundations on which capitalism could grow.

Whilst it was the case, in the years 1918 and 1923—24 when the first constitution of the R. S. F. S. R. and the constitution of the Soviet Union were adopted, that the designation of the Soviet State as Socialist was only a means of expressing the firm deter—mination of the working class to fight to the end and build up Socialism. The words of the new Constitution, "The Soviet Union is the Socialist State of of workers and Peasants". (Article 1) express something that has been achieved and won, and which has developed into an unalterable fact in the history of the world.

The fulfilment of Lenin's legacy to turn the "land of the new economic policy" (N. E. P.) into a Socialist land, has been achieved by the workers and the working class of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin.

The Soviet State is "*a Socialist State of Workers and Peasants*". This formula in the constitution confirms and strengthens the theoretical and practical victory of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the mutual relations between the working class and the peasantry. The Mensheviks, Trotskyists and the rest of the counter-revolutionary tribe have not been sparing in their efforts to "prove" the irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the workers and the peasants, and in the process have endeavoured to weaken the belief of the working class in its own strength, and thus have attempted to hamper the development of Socialism.

The victory of collectivisation was an annihilating answer of the Party of Lenin and Stalin to these counter—revolutionary inventions. In Town and village, Socialist conditions of production prevail, and the peasantry of the collective system has joined up under

the Red Flag of Socialism once and for all.

The process of the elimination of the class—boundaries between the workers and the collective peasants is going on. The collective peasant is becoming an active and conscious builder of Socialist Society.

"The political foundation of the U. S. S. R. is formed by the Soviets of toilers' deputies, which have grown and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the conquests of the dictatorship of the proletariat". (Article 2.)

Only the way of the Soviets, only the way of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the unceasing fight of the workers, under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, can lead to the ultimate triumph of Socialism. That is the conclusion drawn by the workers and peasants of the whole world if they read the new Soviet Constitution. Soviet power represents true political and civic freedom for the workers, the destruction of the national yoke and it is the truest, broadest democracy.

The Soviets of the Workers, Peasants and the Red Army deputies receive the description of "Soviets of the deputies of the toilers under the new Constitution. This alteration is by no means accidental. Therein is expressed the fact that besides the workers, peasants, and members of the Red Army in the land of the Soviets, the employees, engineers, technicians, teachers, doctors, professors, in short the working intellectuals of the Soviet Union, are partners with equal rights in the great work of Socialist construction.

This alteration is the expression of the successful process of the re-modelling and re-orientation of a considerable portion of the old intellectuals and the creation of numerous cadres of a new Soviet intelligentsia, which has proceeded from the ranks of the workers and the children of workers and collective peasants, who are not separated in any way from the working people. The Soviets of the deputies of the workers are the successors to and media for carrying on those famous Soviets of the workers' deputies which took over power in October, 1917, under the leadership of the party of the Bolsheviks.

That the working class should maintain the vanguard role, and that the Communist Party should have the leadership, is a necessary condition for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the Soviets of the deputies of the workers in further developing and strengthening Socialist economy, in protecting Socialist public property, and increasing the power of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party, as the advanced section of the workers, as the "directing nucleus of all organisations of the workers, in social matters as well as in State affairs" is the guiding force, and will remain so.

Even from the times of the American and French declarations of the rights of humanity at the end of the 18th century, bourgeois constitutional decrees have designated property as an inalienable right of human beings. This elastic judicial formula says absolutely nothing about the economic content of property. Behind this formula can be concealed personal property in the form of things one uses, just as well as the working property of the small farmer or craftsman, or the property of the capitalist or that of the immense capitalist trusts.

None the less misleading and untrue are the later formulations which apply to the post-war period. The *Weimar Constitution* of Germany in 1919 tried to whitewash capitalism with the following phrases "The building up of economic life must serve the foundations of justice, and the aim of assuring an existence worthy of humanity". And in order to ensure

that no doubts existed that henceforth the capitalists were not to bother about profits, but rather about the well-being of their workers; Article 153 of the same Weimar Constitution added; "Property is a responsibility. The enjoyment of its use must be in the service of the common weal at the same time."

This type of hypocritical demagogy is also a feature of fascist decrees in which the capitalist is described as a person fulfilling "national functions" (Labour Charter of Italy, 1927), and as the "leader of a concern". The nature of these forms of expression is the same: The worker is there, just as before, to be exploited, to be condemned to unemployment and misery, and in addition, is to be robbed of his rights to organise and his right to use the strike weapon against the capitalists.

The economic foundation of the Soviet State consists in "the Socialist system of economy and Socialist ownership of the means of production". In the Social building up of the Soviet Union there is no place for the big landowner, the banker, the merchant, nor for the speculator. The capitalist economic system has been liquidated in the Soviet Union, and the exploitation of man by man destroyed. Therein lies the basis of liberty for the workers, therein exists their freedom from the everlasting menace of unemployment, from misery and from every depression, and from the threat which hangs over every worker in the capitalist countries.

Socialist property in the Soviet Union exists only as State property, that is, property belonging to the whole of the people, or as co-operative-collective farm property. The constitution emphasises the tremendous political and economic importance of the fact that, besides purely State enterprises which are the absolute property of the State, enterprises exist which constitute the social Socialist property of the collective farm and co-operative associations.

The artel as the basic form of the productive co-operative organisations of the Soviet peasantry, which ensures the most favourable linking of personal with social interests, and the union of the collective economy with the supplementary farm economy of collective farmer, the handing over of the land occupied by the collective farmers to them in perpetuity, all these basic principles of Stalin's collective economy statutes have become an integral part of the new Soviet Constitution.

They will serve to prove to the millions of the peasantry throughout the world that it is only possible for them to free themselves from bondage under the big landlords and kulaks on the basis of Soviet construction and collective economy.

Collective economy construction and the Soviet Constitution assure to every peasant the raising of the cultural and material well-being on the basis of the collective ownership of the basic means of production and the certain ability to use the supplementary personal economy, whilst in capitalist countries the banks and the profiteers enmesh the peasants in a web of debt, bring them to the ground, drive them from their homes, turning them into workless, homeless people.

Where, outside the Soviet Union, is there a state that can point to anything of the sort in its constitution? The capitalist governments are unable to give the haziest idea of how they intend to combat unemployment in their countries. And that is easily understandable. Not a single bourgeois state is master of the elementary laws of capitalist economics. The interference of the governments who are "fighting" against the crisis result in nothing more than the systematic shifting of the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the population, in that help is given to the big capitalists from the coffers of the state, and the war industry, and commissions for war materials are increased tremendously.

The great proletarian Socialist October Revolution which not only freed the workers and peasants from the political yoke of the big landowners and the capitalists, but also ensured for them an ever-increasing satisfaction of their material and cultural needs. The new Constitution not only proclaims the right to work, but also the right to recuperate, the right to security in old age, in sickness and in loss of ability to work, and the right to education, which extends through the elementary, secondary and higher stages.

These articles, and indeed the whole constitution, have nothing to say about the future or further perspectives. They only lay down what has already been achieved and won, the things that have become a living reality through stubborn struggle and labour.

The unswerving upward trend of planned economy, the lively tempo of the development of the forces of production on Socialist foundations and principles, the introduction of the 7 hour working day (an already accomplished fact for the great majority of the workers), the annual holidays, the immense growth of the means of social insurance, the development of the medical services, the introduction of general elementary education, the erection of schools, all these things constitute the true guarantee of those rights which no citizen of any state, apart from the Socialist State, has or can have.

The first expressions of opinion of the workers in the Soviet Union on the draft of the new Soviet Constitution were full of the feeling of pride and patriotism for the Soviets. And the first place among the opinions of workers, collective peasants and intellectuals alike, was taken by expressions of high esteem and thankfullness to the man who has led the peoples of the Soviet Union along the road to victory, the man who is the moving spirit and creator of the new Soviet Constitution, to *Stalin* the greatest man of the epoch!

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The Economy of Socialism.

The last Constitution of the Soviet Union was adopted at the second All-Union Congress at the begining of 1924.

Thirteen years have elapsed since then. But what an epoch making path the country of the Soviets has trodden between the time of the 1924 Constitution and that of the 1937!

In 1924 the economy of the country consisted in a mass of small commodity concerns. The kulaks were quite a considerable force. And collective agriculture took a very unimportant place. Even three years later (1926-27,) the amount of production by the Soviet and collective concerns together formed only 1.7 per cent of the total production of grain. In trading goods also the capitalists held a considerable part of the business. In 1923-24 more than half of the entire inland trade went through the hand of private traders and speculators.

Altogether in 1925 the capitalist section held 6.5 per cent, of the country's business, or, with small private enterprise, more than half of its productive fixed capital:

Average fixed capital for 1925.
(at prices then pertaining)

	Value (Million roubles)	percentage. of whole.
Socialist economy	22,678	48.8
Capitalist concerns	3,037	6.5
Small private enterprise	20,790	44.7
Total	46,505	100,0

In the economy of the Soviet Union at that time, all the five social systems, of which Lenin spoke, existed together: feudal economy, small commodity—production, capitalist private enterprise, state capitalism and socialism.

At the present time the situation has changed fundamentally. Even at the start of the first Five Year Plan industry was finally rid of its capitalist elements. In the course of collectivising the land, the kulaks were done way with as a class. The great bulk of the peasants were firmly drawn together into collective economy, which triumphed decisively.

In the year 1936 the whole agriculture of the Soviet Union yielded 6,380 million puds of grain. Collective farms reaped 5,390 million of these, Soviet estates of all kinds 700 million, leaving the private peasants in the villages only 290 million pud, or less than 5 per cent. of the total.

Of the total business for 1934, capitalist producers held a proportion of only 0.09 per cent. And small commodity producers of 4.1 per cent., of total fixed capital. In the sphere of trade also the capitalists have been finally and completely replaced by Soviet enterprise.

Capitalism has now been smashed on every front, entirely and for always.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is most generally expressed in the consistent national income; in 1935 socialist economy accounted for 97.8 per cent. of the national income, and in 1936 this will be 98.5 per cent.

In his interview with Roy Howard, Stalin demonstrated the final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as follows: "Our community is composed exclusively of free working people in the towns and villages—workers, peasants and intellectuals!"

As a result of this development the new Constitution was able truly to record that "the economic foundation of the U. S. S. R. is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man."

The technical productive capacity of the Soviet Union has been trans-

formed beyond recognition. In the last twelve years the output of her industry has been multiplied almost 17 times. In the separate spheres of production this growth was as follows:

	1924	1936
Total production of heavy industry (milliard roubles)	4.7	77
Production of electrical energy (mill. kilowatt hours)	1.6	32
Coal (million tons)	16.1	135
Cast Iron (million tons)	0.8	14.5
Steel (million tons)	1.1	16
Rolled iron (million tons)	0.8	12.2
Motor—cars	10	161,500
Tractors	83	154,300
Threshing machines	Nil	61,000

The pre—war industrial capacity, of which in 1924 not half was attained, is now far exceeded. In 1936 the index for 1913 was raised more than seven times. The annual expansion o production for 1936 alone was 1½ times the entire production of 1913.

At a rate never experienced in the history of the capitalist countries, the relationship between industry and agriculture has radically changed. In 1913 agriculture supplied 60 per cent. of the entire production of the country, and industry only 40 per cent. Whilst in 1936 industry accounted for 80 per cent of the entire production of the country in spite of the great absolute growth of agriculture.

These figures represent the victory of socialist industrialisation.

Now there is not one machine which the Soviet Union could not build with her own power, materials, and in her own factories. The heaviest turbines, generators and boilers, the most complicated and delicate lathes, enormous steam—rollers, all equipment conceivable for consumption and for light industry—all these now appear with the mark, "Soviet Union".

The tremendous changes in the structure of industry and production were caused by a thorough renewal of the productive apparatus of industry itself. The data collected on September 15, 1934, concerning industrial equipment, are especially enlightening;

Type of Machine.	Percentages of all machines operating on September 15, 1934, which were installed. (a) Before Jan. 1, 1929	(b) After Jan 1, 1929.
Primary motors (according to power)	30.6	69.4
Electro-generators (according to power)	25.3	74.7
Coal-cutting machines.	16.5	83.5
Machine hammers.	2.8	97.2
Metal cutting lathes.	40.7	59.3
Machines for electric welding.	6.5	93.5
Blast furnaces (in capacity)	41.9	58.1
Martin ovens (in expanse)	55.8	44.2
Electric furnaces	5.3	94.7
Copper-melting furnaces	25.0	75.0
Smelting furnaces	47.1	52.9
Pumps	37.3	62.7
Compressers.	33.0	67.0
Wood cutting lathes.	33.2	66.8

These figures show the extraordinary newness of the equipment in Soviet undertakings.

The census of equipment, taken by means of a questionaire in the U. S. A. at the begining of 1935, showed that two—thirds of the industries working up metal were more than ten years old, whereas in the Soviet Union in 1934, about 60 per cent, of the metal-cutting lathes were less than six years old. The Soviet Union is the country with the newest industrial equipment!

The tremendous successes of socialist industrialisation, epecially the triumph of heavy industry with its core of machine—production, has laid the basis for a thorough transformation of all the branches of national economy.

The agriculture of the Soviet Union has become not only the largest in the world, but also, by reason of its

technical standard, the most progressive. Even in 1934 it was proved, by the number of tractors in use per unit of labour, to be the most highly mechanised in the world.

The Soviet Union is heading full—steam for the completion of a re—birth of the entire national economy. On the basis of the *Stakhanov movement* she is approaching the full socialist productivity of labour, which will surpass the capitalist productivity of labour.

The Soviet Union has become *a land of socialist ownership, a powerful, independent, industrial country, whose collective farms are the largest agricultural undertakings in the world, a country of increasing abundance.*

THE SOVIET UNION THE PEOPLE'S STATE

By J. Pashukanis

The Socialist society of the toilers has already been built up in the Soviet Union. The state power of the working class, which 20 years ago set itself the task of doing away with exploitation, has already accomplished this world historical task. Classes have been practically abolished in the Soviet Union; for private property in the means of production and the possibility of capitalist exploitation have been done away with. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry has entered on a new phase, for its chief aim the transformation of the small commodity-producers of yesterday into active builders of socialist society-has been achieved. The socialist forms of work are penetrating into the village and taking root there. The collective farm peasants are striving to master agronomic science in order to place it at the service of socialist agriculture.

In the Twenty years which have passed since the October revolution the working class has been transformed. It has increased numerically and raised its cultural and ideological, political level. It has become the leading stratum of the society of free working people in town and country. The uniform socialist economy forms the firm foundation for the political and ideological unity of the various peoples and nations in the Soviet Union.

There was a time when the Narodniki parties declared it to be their aim to unite all working classes: the industrial workers, the peasantry and the working intellectuals. They opposed this comprehensive task to the "narrow-minded" outlook of the Marxist Bolsheviks who, they alleged, were only concerned with the interests of the proletariat.

Lenin and Stalin, in their criticism of the Narodniki, exposed the falsity of this attempt to postulate the unity of the working people on the basis of the maintenance of capitalism. It was the victory of the proletarian revolution, the coming of the peasantry over to the side of the proletariat, the socialist transformation of small undertakings, that first released the peasantry from

misery and from the inevitable differentiation of rich and poor peasants, from exploitation by the kulaks. *The dictatorship of the proletariat has created a really united people which is not torn by class antagonisms.*

This people, which has shaken off exploitation by landowners and capitalists, is as young as the State which it has created. The State of the socialist society is the force which is necessary for the consolidation and extension of the foundation of socialist society. This State which the proletariat has created in place of the bourgeois State machine which it has destroyed, has played, and must continue to play, a great historical role until the highest phase of Communism has been reached. Only opportunists who wish to revise the basic teachings of Marx and Lenin can doubt this. A strong State power is necessary in order to create the economic conditions for the future Communist organisation of makind, in which there will be no State. The maintenance of State and factory discipline, control of work and consumption, protection of socialist property, combating of the remnants of capitalism in the minds of human beings, defence of the socialist fatherland against imperialist attacks-all these tasks demand a strong, exactly working, highly qualified State apparatus.

The Soviet state apparatus has been repeatedly modified according to the increasing tasks of socialist economy. The forms of socialist democracy have repeatedly changed according to the concrete conditions of the fight for Socialism. *The construction of the classless, socialist society marks a new stage in the development of Soviet democracy. The expression of this stage is Stalin's Constitution.* The introduction of general and equal suffrage and the secret ballot will render it possible to draw closer the ties connecting the whole population with the organs of the state. It will increase the control of the masses over the activity of the State organs and help to draw the workers, collective peasants and all toilers to an increasing extent into the administration of the State and the organisation of production. In this way the Soviet State is becoming a people's State in the true sense of the word.

Socialist Soviet democracy is built upon the basis of socialist property, on the fact that work is performed by all the members of society. The policy of the Socialist State is becoming more and more expresed in the economic and cultural tasks. The raising of technique and of labour productivity, questions of training and education, these are the subjects dealt with by the Soviet Congresses and conferences, by the soviet press and the Soviet organisations. Already in the year 1920, at the Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress, Lenin spoke of the commencement of a "happy period in which there will be less talk of politics, but where the engineers and agronomists will have more to say."

The Soviet Union has entered this period.

It is the first duty of every citizen of the Soviet Union to think of the serious dangers threatening the socialist fatherland from the imperialists, prepare to repulse the enemy, strengthen the defensive forces of the socialist fatherland, promote Soviet patriotism. *The Soviet power is the most democratic power in the world,* and hence it is hated by all the enemies of Socialism. The whole country knows the heroic service which the guardians of the Soviet frontier are rendering.

The Soviet State was, is and will remain the advance guard of the world army of Socialism. An object of fear to the enemies of the proletariat, the white—guardists and the fascists the Soviet State is near and dear to the hearts of the toilers of the whole world.

The unshakeable conviction that the proletariat will draw with it the whole mass of the toilers, that it will be able to organise production and distribution on a socialist basis, this conviction permeated all speeches of Lenin from the first days of the existence of the Soviet power. At the Third Soviet Congress Lenin said:

"Formerly the whole human mind, the whole of its genius worked solely in order that all the advantages of technique and culture should, be enjoyed by one class, while the other class was deprived of bare necessities of enlightenment and any possibility of further development. Now, however, all the wonders of techinque, all the achievements of culture, have become the common property of the people, and from now on human intelligence, human genius, will never be directed to using force as a means of exploitation. We realise this, and is it not worth while to work for and to devote all our forces to this great historical task? And the toilers will accomplish this titanic historical work, for in them the tremendous forces of revolution, renaissance and renewal lie dormant."

Thus spoke Lenin in the year 1918, when he opposed the petty bourgeois agents of capital.

"We can and must defeat the capitalist elements in our economy, we can and must build up socialist society in our country", said Comrade Stalin, when he opposed the counter-revolutionary theory of the Trotzkyists in 1926.

The policy which was represented by our enemies as "abandonment of utopia", proved to be a new tactical move of the Bolsheviks which enabled them to proceed more rapidly and with greater self—assurance.

The programme proclaimed in October, 1917, has become a reality. The political and juridical possibilities opened up by the dictatorship of the proletariat have assumed political, economic and social forms. The most advanced political form obtained its foundation in the shape of the most advanced socialist economy.

Nowhere in the world does there exist another State power or political party which is able to boast of such complete fulfilment of the programme it has adopted.

The states of the capitalist world and their parties, and especially the fascist States and their parties, are based upon deceit of the mass of the people. In the Socialist Soviet State there live millions of men and women who have found the path of emancipation from exploitation and oppression. In the Soviet State there is embodied the great historical truth of victorious Socialism.

NO EXPLOITERS AND NO EXPLOITED

T. Venkatramayya

The abolition of the division of society into classes of exploiters and exploited has taken place in the Soviet Union. The Soviet economic system knows neither capitalists nor rich landowners, neither bankers nor rich department store owners, neither big nor little capitalists. Socialist social property is the order of the day in town and country.

This tremendous achievement of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union did not take place as the result of a parliamentary majority decision whereby the owners of all wealth handed over their property with a noble gesture to the toilers. In those countries in which the majority of the working class fell victim to such illusion, the workers were punished with the bitter lessons of fascist barbarism.

This great achievement was also not won in friendly collaboration with the bourgeoisie with the gradual nationalisation of one industry after another, as many social-democratic leaders still imagine possible even to-day.

On the contrary, this great success was obtained in a bitter and relentless class struggle, which was not even ended with the seizure of power by the proletariat, but merely developed a higher phase. It was achieved with a severe *class dictatorship* in the hands of the most progressive and most experienced section of the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed and exploited masses. What are the chief features of the social stratification which exists in the Soviet Union to-day after the abolition of exploitation?

There are no longer any class antagonisms. There are no exploiters and no exploited, no oppressors and no oppressed. All these means of production which formerly belonged to capitalists and rich landowners are now in the hands of society as a whole. However, social property has still various social strata within the great family of free toilers which makes up the population of the Soviet Union.

Two main sections of socialist society in the Soviet Union to-day are the *workers* (including clerical and other employees) and the *collectivist peasants.*

Both these sections work with socialised means of production, whose masters and owners, they themselves are. Both the workers and the collectivist peasants share in the socially produced product in accordance with the quality and quantity of their labour. Both sections are free collaborators in a socialist society.

However, there are still certain differences between these two sections The *workers* (and clerical employees, etc.) work in state industrial or agricultural undertakings, offices, etc. Their respective shares in the social product take the form of wages, supplemented very considerably by the benefits deriving from the State social insurance scheme etc. It must be stressed at this point that wages, as paid in the Soviet Union, are similar to wages as paid out under capitalism only in their general *form*. The social content of the two are fundamentally different. Under capitalism wages are the price of labour-power, which the worker, who himself owns none of the means

of production, sells to the capitalist, who owns the means of production. In the socialist society, which exists in the Soviet Union, the worker does not sell his labour-power to the owner of the means of production because he, together with all the other toilers, is the owner of the means of production, and he applies his labour-power to the best of his ability for the good of society as a whole. In this case, therefore, wages are only the form in which the toilers distribute that part of the social product intended for their personal consumption amongst themselves.

The chief form of social property for the *collectivist peasant* is co-operative property. The land is by law, the property of the State, or society as a whole, but within its own area each collective has been given the inalienable right to use the land without payment and without any time limit, i. e, the land is in fact in their possession for ever. The buildings and machinery of a collective farm (agricultural productive co-operative), including in some cases building and equipment for the further use of the products of the farm (dairy products of the farm cheese, etc.), all the draught animals and a great part of the live-stock represent co-operative property belonging to the members of a collective farm as a whole and used according to their will. The peasants of each collective farm divide the produce of the farm amongst themselves. The share of each collectivist peasant takes the form of an annual portion of the total product according to the work he has performed in the year.

However, in the collective farms this co—operative property form is combined with other property forms. On the one hand the collectivist peasants are increasingly using means of production in the hands of the State, with the assistance of the many tractor and agricultural machinery stations, and on the other hand they also enjoy personal property in the form of a plot of garden land, or vegetable garden, etc, a cow, perhaps, or other live—stock, whose products they may sell freely.

In addition to their wages or salaries the workers and clerical employees, etc., enjoy the benefits of the State social insurance scheme, whose expenditure in this year will be approximately the enormous sum of eight milliard roubles. This enormous sum is obtained exclusively from State sources. Of course, the collective farms are also supported in many ways by the State; for instance, the provision of State—paid doctors in the village maternity homes, etc.

Despite these differences, however the workers and the collectivist peasants have no antagonistic interests. Quite the contrary, the interests of these two socialist sections of society are closely related. Both as consumer and producer, the collectivist receives tractors, threshers and other modern agricultural machinery from socialist industry, such as he could never have dreamed of as an individualist peasant. From socialist industry he receives those products which his growing well-being permits him to purchase and even an apparent antagonistic interest, which under capitalism does most to separate workers and peasants, the interest of the peasants in high prices for agricultural goods and interest of the workers in low prices, has lost all its severity, with the disappearance of capitalism. It has been seen that this antagonism is maintained by capitalism, which exploits both workers and peasants mercilessly. Socialist planned economy with its uniform price policy is carrying out more and more effectively the principle that each toiler, whether worker or collectivist peasant, shall enjoy a standard of living which shall depend exclusively on his own labour productivity. The year 1936, in particular, has shown numerous instances where the State purchase prices for agricultural produce

have been increased and the market prices decreased.

Between these two great sections of society lies a comparatively small section of co-operatively organised *handicraftsmen*, whose numbers run into millions and which is also socialist. The property form in this case is like that of the collectivist peasants, also co-operative.(productive co-operatives) The form of their work and their conditions of life are, however, becoming increasingly similar to those of workers. Socialism has freed them from the former insecurity which dogged the existance of handicraftsmen, it has cleared the way for their cultural development by regulating their working hours, and giving them a steady market for their products and protected from the vagaries of chance. They have their own excellently organised social insurance scheme, very much like the State social insurance scheme, and its benefits, like those of the latter, increase from year to year.

These are the fundamental sections of society in the Soviet Union today a society which has put into pratice the old principles of all socialists: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat". In the Soviet Union no one who is capable of undertaking his fair share of the social labour of society, but refuses to do so, can eat. Who ever works, eats. And whoever works better and produces more in his working time, also lives better no matter to which of the socialist sections mentioned above he belongs.

In this sense we socialists who have always opposed all attempts to deceive the toilers fighting for their freedom by phrases about a united people a people's commonwealth, and so on, can now speak for the first time in history with truth, of a *united people disrupted by no class antagonisms* in the Soviet Union, of a real people's commonwealth.

THE RIGHT TO WORK :— A REALITY.

L. F. Boros.

Unlike the fine sounding democratic constitution of the bourgeoisie, a socialist constitution is no empty declaration of libertarian rights which the bourgeoisie is neither willing nor able to fulfill in practice. On the contrary, it is the codification, systematisation and development of those liberties which the proletariat has already won. It is and cannot be other than the aggregate of all those liberties which gurantee the working people the abolition of all exploitation and the sway of social property.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism is the fact that the demand that every citizen should have the right to work in accordance with his capacities in return for a reward in accordance with his labour has at last been fulfilled. Socialist society has established this right not only on paper, but in fact.

Is it an easy matter to fulfill such a demand? The fact that for a century it was one of the fundamental demands of the most progressive sections of humanity that it has now been fulfilled only in the country of victorious socialism, is alone sufficient to answer this question. However, even in the country of the Soviets, the fulfilment of this demand was the result of a long process, of obstinate effort, of determined struggle. Its fulfilment persupposed a number of conditions:

1. The abolition of the capitalist profit system and the anarchical state of the economic system connected with it, and its replacement by a planned economic system in which production is regulated not by the profit interests of capitalists, but by the needs of the people as a whole. So long as the volume of commodities produced—and thus the possibility of labour remains dependent on the profit accruing to the owners of the means of production by the employment of wage—labour, so long will the right to work remain a scrap of paper, even if this scrap of paper is called a constitution and even if it guarantees the right to work in a dozen paragraphs.

2. However, the abolition of the capitalist profit system and the establishment of a planned economic system, based on the need of the working people, is impossible without the expropriation of the capitalists and rich land owners and without the socialisation of the means of production. Thus, the establishment of social property in the means of production in town and country and the establishment of such an economic system in which the workers as a whole are masters and owners of the means of production and of the goods produced, is therefore also a preliminary condition for any real right to work. The condition can be fulfilled in no capitalist country, no matter whether the right of each citizen to work is proclaimed throughout the country as the fundamental law of the state.

3. As the capitalists will never voluntarily give up their ownership of the means of production, they must therefore be expropriated by the power of the State, but a state in which the

capitalists themselves are the dominant force will never take serious steps in this direction, no matter if "the gradual transfer of the factories to the possession of the State" is written down in the Statute Books in letters of gold. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie will mobilise all possible forces to maintain its class domination, and when the demand of the proletariat for a decent life, as befits human beings, begins to take on dangerous forms, when the proletariat shows itself inclined to take its democratic liberties seriously, then the bourgeoisie will strive to abolish the democratic state form and replace it by a brutal fascist regime of violence. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat the realisation of the right to work is impossible, no matter whether a hundred statesmen proclaim it throughout the land.

4. However, power alone is not enough. Even under the dictatorship of the proletariat it is not enough merely to proclaim the right to work. The right to work must be realised in fact. Market difficulties have disappeared. Profit interests no longer limit production which is determined alone by the needs of the working people and thus also the volume of commodities produced and the extent of labour opportunities. But the means of production in existence were intended to serve the needs of a thin layer of parasites and to produce sufficient to keep the mass of wage slaves alive whilst permitting them to procreate their kin. They are not sufficient to meet the needs of a free working people. And although socialists proclaim the right to work, it must nevertheless remain a scrap of paper so long as there are not sufficient factories in which all can work. Therefore the preliminary condition for the realisation of the right to work in the Soviet Union was the wide scale building of new factories, and at the same time the rebuilding and repair of those factories destroyed or damaged during the long years of war, civil war and intervention. Without the process of socialist industrialisation in the Soviet Union it would not have been possible to realise the right to work. In the Soviet Union the number of workers employed rose from 7.3 millions in 1929 to 24 millions in 1936. Not only the change in the form of social dominance is necessary in order to realise the right to work, but also the development of the productive forces.

The poverty and insecurity of existence of the village population had to be abolished. In capitalist countries this represents a permanent source of new armies of unemployed. The abolition of the impoverishment of the peasant population and the granting to them of security of existence by the expropriation of the rich landowners, the provision of agriculture with modern machinery, the emancipation of the peasant masses from exploitation at the hands of the most numerous capitalist stratum, the rich peasants, the diminution of the tax burden on agriculture etc., and finally the socialist transformation of agriculture made possible the realisation of the right to work in the Soviet Union, the guaranteeing of this right to every Soviet citizen both in town and country.

Not by fine-sounding declarations and proclamations, but solely by the fulfilment of these preliminary conditions did socialism make possible the right of every citizen to work in accordance with his capacities, in return for reward in accordance with his labour. For many years now unemployment has been an unknown phenomenon in the Soviet Union. However, the realisation of the right to work does not consist alone in the abolition of unemployment. The right to work in the Soviet Union is not the right to be exploited. It is not the right of the worker to sell his labour-power. It is the right to work for his own welfare. It is the right and the possibility to

create for himself a carefree and happy life. It is the right to partake in the rule of a society in which each citizen is estimated according to his work alone, in which each citizen shares in the socially-produced wealth according to his own labour.

It is the right to work happily because the work is not to create pleasures for others, but for the workers themselves, because all the joys of life which are created in the Soviet Union by labour belong exclusively to workers.

This right has been won by socialism for everyone who is willing to work, irrespective of sex, race, nation, and today even irrespective of his social origin or even of the attitude he formerly adopted to the struggle of the working class for its freedom. Socialism has freed the working masses on one-sixth of the earth's surface from the torments of Tantalus which have previously accompanied them throughout history; they, the working people, saw the joys of life before them, but they could not stretch out their chained hand to take them. To day socialism in the Soviet Union says to everyone; these joys are for you, take them. On you alone it depends whether you may enjoy them or not. Stretch out your hand and take them by labour. Society gives you every possibility of doing so.

The new constitution of socialist society will certainly record this great achievement, this great triumph of the working people, it is text, but it is not a question of words in a constitution. Anyone can write down "the right to work" on paper, but only socialism can carry that right into effect.

THE SOCIALIST UNITY OF THE PEOPLES

THE COSSACKS

By L. F. Boross

From all directions the Cossack hundreds were riding towards Rostov. Don Cossacks, Kuban Cossacks, Cossacks from the region of the Terek River-they mounted the finest horses of their collective farms and after many days of travelling, reached the capital of the Azov—Black Sea District. A big Cossack delegation started for Moscow. In Oresburg and other centres of areas inhabited by Cossacks, other large contingent arrived.

Once the Cossacks were the terror of the working people. Working-class mothers used their name with which to frighten naughty children. But now, the working people come with joy and affection to greet them, give them hospitality and feast them like long-lost brothers. And that, indeed, is the real significance of those Cossack festivities. The Cossacks came to the workers of the towns like brothers who had returned home, or better, had found a home. They came in order to confirm and celebrate their break now many years old, with the enemies of the people. And not only with solemn words, but also by demonstration of the innumerable heroic deeds of the Coss-

acks on the front of Socialist construction.

They did not come to Moscow with humble petitions as did once their forbears but had been invited to attend the premiere of the new opera, "Quiet Flows the Don," adapted by the young composer, Chershinski, from the famous novel of that name, by the Cossack author, Sholokhov. Along their journey, in the villages and towns, they were everywhere received with a warm welcome; moving scenes of fraternisation, and enthusiastic speeches—all went to prove that the former enmity between Cossacks and the people was dissolved for ever, and was replaced by genuine friendship and unity in will and creative labour.

However, not all of the past was to be wiped out; for the Cossacks cherish the tradition of such great peasant uprisings as those which were led by Cossacks like Stenka-Razin and Pugachev. These traditions now live with even greater vitality among the Socialist Cossacks of to-day.

The birth of the Cossack people in the Sixteenth century was bound up with the struggle of the serfs for freedom. Large numbers of peasants fled from their feudal oppressors into the farthest frontier distance of the Empire, and there settled as free men. Gradually, however, the Tsarist autocracy was able to corrupt the Cossack chiefs with titles, honours and other means. With their help they then brought the Cossack masses under their own rule. There were many struggles, in which the Cossocks put up a brave resistance. Finally, however, they were beaten; and then began that ill-famed epoch in the history of the Cossacks which made their name, in the eyes of lovers of freedom throughout the world, a symbol of tyranny. They were used by their masters for the forcible annexation of territories and for the brutal suppression of the risings of the people.

The Cossacks were formed in separate military bodies, in which each had to serve with his own horse and arms, and received in return fairly large sections of land which enabled them to live on a higher scale than that of the rest of the Russian peasantry.

Naturally, a strong class differentiation arose among them: from rich landlords, all the way down to wretched small peasants. And this class distinction was partly expressed but only partly, in their attitude towards the revolution. The officers and kulaks were among the strongest supporters of counter-revolution. When they were defeated, some of them fled abroad. Others, remained in the Soviet Union and endeavoured to sabotage the building up of Socialism, and particularly the collectivisation of agriculture. But many of the poorer Cossacks realised from the first that their place was on the side of the oppressed people in the struggle against the oppressors. It was these Cossacks who proved themselves to be heroic fighters, particularly in Budyonny's famous cavalry force.

On the other hand, the influence of the rich Cossacks and the caste spirit inculcated by them, also brought a large number of the poorer Cossacks into the camp of counter—revolution.

The situation of the working Cossacks before the revolution may be described as follows: As toilers, they were oppressed by the landowners, the bourgeoisie and the banks. They themselves suffered greatly under the Tsarist knout. But they themselves were also sometimes allowed to handle the knout—and then they plied it against the peasants.

The proletarian revolution freed the Cossacks, as it did all toilers—from exploitation and oppression; but it also put an end to their role as the "herders" of the people, and there with the slight advantages which were connected with this role. During the difficult early period of the revolution—

when the basis for well—being and culture had still toilsomely to be laid down—even the poorer Cossacks, influenced by prejudices arising from their previously isolated position, thought more of the slight loss than of the great gains the revolution brought them. It was for this reason that considerable numbers of them were found in the camp of counter—revolution. But as the effects of the revolution developed towards ever greater measures of freedom and prosperity, a rapid change took place among the Cossacks.

The transformation was strongly shown at the begining of mass collectivisation, when large numbers of formerly poor or middle peasants became firm fighters for the new order, although here again, among some of them there persisted fairly strong prejudices and vestiges of their old enmity for Socialism. These prejudices were fanned by the former officers and landlords and used by them in their frenzied conspiracies against collectivisation.

However, as soon as collectivisation had been accomplished, thus putting an end to *the opportunities of the kulaks for exploitation*, as soon as the well—being of the collective farmers exceeded that of the pre—revolutionary Cossack peasants, as soon as they saw in what honour and esteem every honest toiler was held—then they realised that much abused word, "liberty", in the mouths of the Bolsheviks was no empty sound. And then the last remnants of prejudice and hostility disappeared. The yearning for their former privileges was transformed into zealous competition as to who should be the most energetic builder of Socialism. For they were determined to be among the best. And the fruits of this determination may be ascertained by any person, who has had the opportunity of visiting a number of Cossack collective farms. And then he will gain an idea of how deeply rooted in their own experience were the words of the Cossacks which they used in the delegation's greeting to Stalin:

"The old Don, the old Don Cossack region, no longer exists. To day we have the Soviet Don and the Don Cossacks of the collective farms, who are devoted to the Communist party and Soviet Government and would give their last breath for them.

"Now a days that old, thrice—accursed life of the Cossacks is dead, when the toiling Cossacks lived in the clutches of the Atamans, officers and kulaks who oppressed the workers and peasants. In its place we have a joyous, cultured and prosperous life on our collective farms".

The participants in the Rostov celebrations wrote as follows:

"We have come together in order to tell you that, upon the steppes of the quiet Don, there where the Terek rushes and the restless Kuban flows—everywhere our Socialist Fatherland grows ever more beautiful, everywhere the loyal sons of this fatherland have attended the great school of life and of struggle; everywhere the great name of Stalin is treasured.

"And to-day, now that it has become clear to all that the path of the free Cossacks—as once pointed out by those heroes of the peasant revolution, *Rasin* and *Pugachev*—has been closed for ever to the hounds of absolutism and counter—revolution; now that all may see that the whole Cossack people is for the Soviets and devoted to the Bolshevik party and Soviet power-now to—day, we have you to thank, our great and beloved leader Stalin.

"We thank you that all vacillations are at an end among the Cossack people. We thank you that the Cossack farmers now lead a joyous, prosperous life."

Such people as the Don Cossack, Manokhin, from the collective farm, Donskai Skakun, who was awarded the

order of Lenin; the Kuban Cossack, Golovan, who also received this order, the Don Cossack, tractor-driver Putilin, who won fame throughout the Soviet Union, and was awarded the Order of Lenin; the splendid woman combine-driver, Kavardak, a Kuban Cossack woman and a Komsomol, also awarded the Order; the Cossack horse-breeder, Grechko, who has received the Order of Lenin; the Cossack, Malyuk, who was similarly honoured, and many others have won for the Don and Kuban Cossack collective farmers' fame as masters of collective farm work. The Terek Cossack, Yakovenko, who with his brigade gained an average of 230 poods per hectare and was awarded the Order of Lenin; the Cossack women, Siolgeyeva, of the Storoshevays stanitza, who with her group obtained 420 poods of maizeper hectare; Piskavadski, of the Gomogayevsk stanitza, who was awarded the Order of Lenin; and many other all are examples of the heroic struggle for collective agriculture in the Terek region.

"We Soviet Cossacks from the Azov-Black Sea and North Caucasian districts recently read with great attention your wise and clear replies to the whole capitalist world, in the Howard interview. What pride did we feel for our land and our leader!

"Comrade Stalin, it was you who expressed our thoughts and wishes. We have understood better now that we must be prepared for defence......Let the Japanese generals, the Polish war-Mongers and German fascists realise that the Cossack horses are in fine condition, that our blades are keen and our rifles never miss.

"In the close comradely collective-farm communities, in the stanitzas, villages, chutors and auls of our Azov-Black Sea and North Caucasin district, all collective farmers, without exception, stand ready to rise together for the defence of our great homeland and if it be necessary, to give our lives for it without faltering...

"Both in defence and in their work, the Cossacks swear from now on to set an example to all. The best characteristics of the Cossacks—fighting spirit, loyalty, organising ability, iron discipline, bravery and endurance-will now be employed for the rapid doubling of our harvests, and equally rapid rise in live-stock-breeding, and particularly horse-breeding, and the transformation of the Azov-Black Sea and North Caucasian districts into leading, richest, most flourishing and cultivated districts of our homeland."

I have quoted so copiously from this document because it so plainly shows how Socialism translates into living actuality the unity of peoples even as in this case, of a people from a district so heavily burdened with the heritage of the past.

It is a unity which expresses the strivings and interests of the peoples of the whole world; unity in the establishment of their own general prosperity under Socialism; but also an unshakeable unity in the defence of peace against imperialist war-mongers and their fascist agents.

14.

TROTSKYISM.

THE PATH OF TREASON.

Red Flagger.

["Till recently, Soviet Russia would have been regarded as an explosive force of gigantic proportions, busy in stirring up revolutions all over the world. But such is not the case today. After the death of Lenin and the elimination of Trotsky, Soviet Russia under the guidance of Stalin is interested only in building up Socialism within the Soviet frontiers."—Subhas Bose in his article 'Europe Today & Tomorrow', Amrita Bazar Patrika—5—9—37.

He obviously means that Russia was a revolutionary force once but is not so now, and for this the "elimination" of Trotsky and the guidance of Stalin is responsible.

"As a matter of fact so much had been done and achieved that Soviet rule in Russia had been justified already. The growth that had taken place in Russia was tremendous."—Pt. J. Nehru opening the Exhibition of Soviet posters in Bombay, Bombay Chronicle, 13.9.37.

"What exactly was the trouble in Russia was not known. There seemed to be a crisis in the country and the international ideology seemed to have gone into the background to give place to war—time nationalism."—Pt. J. Nehru in his lecture on Foreign Affairs organised by the Bombay CSP, Bombay Chronicle report.

"One cannot escape the conclusion that something is wrong with Russia... She is yet the socialist challenge to the capitalist world. She has however treated the New Civilisation to a violent shock." Ram Manohar Lohia in his note on "Russian Trials and Executions" in the AICC Foreign News Service No. 8, 4th August, '37.

M. R. Masani is troubled by no doubts: "The saddest feature from the point of view of socialism was that there was no prospect of the international labour movement giving an effective resistance to war. This was so because both the Second & Third Internationals followed a policy of asking the workers to defend their fatherland which meant that as in 1914, the workers would be led into war on the side of their respective capitalist governments."—Lecture on Foreign Policy of India, United Press Message of 3-9-37.

All the above persons are notable figures in our anti—Imperialist movement; they would claim to be and are sincere friends of the Soviet Union but they make their own qualifications which reveal distinct Trotskyite influence, however unwitting it be. These qualification are so serious in their implications that if they were followed to their logical conclusions they would make their avowed friendship ineffective in practice and may be, even turn it into hostility. That would be a calamity for the Soviet Union, which is the hope of mankind, impregnable bulwark against Reaction, the great garrison of the toilers of the world.

We hope the following article would show that the Soviet Union would have collapsed if Trotskyism had been accepted and what a hell would it have been, if Trotskyite policy had been pursued in the U.S.S.R.]

The trial of the Trotskyists struck a TREMENDOUS BLOW AGAINST THE WAR PLANS OF THE FASCISTS. Hitler and the Japanese generals lost allies, who had dangled the prospects of an easy victory before their eyes, and had exerted all their forces in order to hasten the outbreak of war. Millions of people recognised the enormity and immeidate proximity of the danger revealed and averted, and were able to convince themselves that the conspiracy against the USSR was, in fact, a CONSPIRACY AGAINST PEACE, AGAINST THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY.

It is understandable that the war instigators, fascists of all shades, should reply to the trial against their accomplices with howls of rage. It is understandable that they should make the attempt to whitewash their branded and condemned confederates, that they should maintain that the confessions did not correspond with reality, and that they should demonstrate their sympathy for Trotsky and his followers. It is just as understandable that the fascist newspapers should print Trotsky, that the fascist "Fatherland Front" in Austria should issue a pamphlet entitled "What does Trotsky Say?" and that the counter—revolution should go into mourning for the "old Bolsheviks", Radek, Zinoviev, Pyatakov and others. All of this is understandable. What is not so good, however, is that individuals professing to be anti—fascists, leading people of the 2nd International, join in the chorus of the fascists, and often using the same words and "arguments" as they do, denounce Soviet justice and espouse the cause of the accused.

They utilise the circumstance that many honest, but badly informed people are perplexed at these monstrous crimes. Just as the world of honest and decent petty bourgeoisie refused, for a long time, to believe the truth of all the barbarous infamy of German fascism, So today, they are honest democrats who hesitate to look fearlessly into the ugly countenance of Trotskyist counter—revolution, all the more so, since this counter—revolution parades itself as "revolution" (the German counter—revolution, by the way, for a long time called itself the German revolution"). Nor were all of the accused counter—revolutionaries from the very outset, as the biggest renegades, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Pilsudski, and Ramsay Mac Donald were not always counter—revolutionaries. Pyatakov, Radek, and Zinoviev were never true Bolsheviks; nevertheless the Bolshevik Party reposed a certain confidence in them for a time, and with indescribable patience made it possible for them to make good their old mistakes and to take part in the building of Socialism. The Party saw the ROAD taken by these people, this road of mistakes, deviations, and opposition to the political line of LENIN and STALIN. Nevertheless, it did not consider these vacillating people as completely lost until the compelling proof of the horrible guilt of these traitors were revealed. Masses of honest democrats in the capitalist countries, who do not know the long road of development of the Trotskyist counter—revolutionaries, which has led them into the abyss of the most hideous crimes, only see the END of this road, and so it is difficult for them to believe in the possibility of such a monstrous decline.

The Russian Revolution—especially since 1905—has had an enormous influence upon the international working class movement. But the world proletariat, under the influence of the 2nd International, which was immersed in opportunism, received only scant

and false information concerning the main and disputable questions of the Russian Revolution. The leaders of European Social Democracy knew about the struggles between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, between LENIN on the one side, and Plekhanov, Martov and Trotsky, on the other. At bottom they sympathised with the Mensheviks, agreed with Trotsky when he characterised LENIN as an "Asiatic", not withstanding which they declared that the "internal" affairs of the Russians were of no significance for the West. They hardly suspected that these "internal" struggles were, in reality, struggles for the fate of the entire working class movement, that this "Asiatic" LENIN was the genius of creative Marxism, that he was forging the only weapon with which the world proletariat could triumph. The masses in the West seldom heard from their leaders the names which, later, were to shake the world.

Suddenly it all changed, for, in 1917, when the greatest revolution in the world history rose up like a colossus, dozens of hitherto unknown names penetrated the minds of the European working class. And ever higher, ever brighter, above all other names, rose the name of LENIN. In vain did Social Democracy try to obscure this name, which became the banner of the masses of Social Democratic workers in spite of the fact that they still rejected Communism. Their instinctive love for the greatest leader of the working class could not be destroyed by any lies or slander. What is more, all the names mentioned together with Lenin's name shone with a reflected lustre. The workers heard these names for the first time knowing nothing of their past, but since they were mentioned together with *Lenin*, since they were carried along in the stream of revolution, the workers believed in them.

Their further development was not clear to many people abroad and the fall of Trotsky startled and perplexed millions of people who remembered his name only from the days of the revolution. As far as these millions, are concerned the road of the Trotskyists to treason, to counter-revolution was enveloped in darkness, and only the end of the road became clear in the flashing light of the trial of the band of murderers. This lack of knowledge of the historical development of Bolshevism on the one hand, and Trotskyism on the other, led to many workers in the capitalist countries being astounded when the abyss of Trotskyism suddenly opened up before their sight, and to their being unable to grasp the horrible truth.

The enemies of the Soviets made clever use of this. The same individuals who slandered and defamed *Lenin* when he was still alive, now lift up their hands in lament and come forward as the defenders of the "Lenin Guard" of "old Bolsheviks."

These people are consciously and shamelessly lying. At one time they raised similar accusations against *Lenin* hurling similar curses at him as they do to-day against Stalin. But they know that *Lenin* is the supreme authority of the workers, for all workers, and so they try to utilise this authority for their counter-revolutionary ends. Any one who is in the slightest degree acquainted with the history of Bolshevism, can only laugh on hearing that Trotsky, Radek, and Zinoviev are suddenly called the "Lenin Guard." For decades Trotsky was in the ranks of the Menshevik Party against which Lenin carried on an irreconcilable war, This "Guard" was always up in arms against *Lenin* and his policy, this "Guard" entered into conspiracies with *Lenin's* opponents at all decisive moments, and this "Guard" conspired against Lenin at every step.

This is the "Lenin Guard" about which the enemies of the Soviets tell such touching legends,—a "Guard" of regular mutineers against the Party, of deserters and traitors. They tried to

disorganise the Party, they fought *Lenin*, and the party of *Lenin* punished them. Lenin characterised Trotsky with these words.

"Such types are characteristic as the debris of the historic structures and systems of yesterday when the mass working class movement in Russia was still sleeping."

He warned the members of this "Guard" individually that if they did not change their false political position, they would some day find themselves in the camp of counter—revolution. He warned them all when he stated in a resolution adopted at the 10th Congress of the Russian Comunist Party that every struggle against the Party leads with inexorable consistency into the camp of counter—revolution. They continued their struggle against the Party, and the struggle led with inexorable consistency into the camp of counter—revolution.

It is necessary to reveal the political roots of these monstrous crimes. it would be idle to examine the inner psychological development of the individual criminals that led to the horrible depths of their disintegration and degeneration. In every revolutionary movement, alongside of the masses and their deep thinking and great creative leaders, there also participate desperately ambtitious people and adventurers of all kinds. These are intractable Bohemians, who revolt against all order, and for whom the revolution is nothing more than a great "demoniacal disorder." Then there are gamblers, thirsting for power, who strive to climb out of obscurity into fame and grandaur. Then there are men possessed, who know only hate, who are dominated not by the vision of a new world, but by the vision of revolution, and who do not want to lead the people to the heights of a new life and culture, but to take revenge upon an unjust system of society. The decay of the whole world, which precedes every revolution, begets legions of declassed adventurers, of unstable elements and mad—men. Such people are the most mobile cadres in the camp of every counter—revolution, but some of them also make their way for a time into the camp of revolution, before they find the road to counter—revolution, which is in harmony with their nature. Every revolutionary movement has had its traitors, but the fact that treason has assumed such enormous dimensions in this case is explained by the enormous scope of the proletarian revolution. There has never been such treachery as that of Trotsky, Radek and Zinoviev, but there have also never been such colossal class struggles, just as never before has there been fascism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We wish to discover not the psychological features common to these traitors, but what they have in common politically, to discover the main political line which constituted the starting point for their course, further and further along the road of treason.

They all had *no faith in the masses*, in the creative power of the *working-class*, in the revolutionary role of the peasantry. Characteristic of all of them is what Lenin said of Trotsky, that they entered the epoch of revolution as the debris of the historic systems of yesterday, as the debris of the time when the mass movement was still sleeping. It is characteristic that they were all up in arms against the *national policy of Lenin and Stalin*, that they denied the right of nations to self—determination. According to their opinion the peoples were not mature enough to decide their own fate; according to them an outside force was needed to be a guardian of the nations and lead them by the hand. Just as characteristic was the position of Trotsky and Co., on the peasant question. *Lenin* and *Stalin* had faith in the revolutionary energy of the peasant masses; they knew that the working class could only establish its hegemony

and achieve victory in a fraternal militant alliance with the peasants. As for as Trotsky and Co. were concerned the peasants were a counter—revolutionary rabble whom they considered it possible to suppress with bayonets.

Lenin felt himself deeply attached to the Russian people. He, the greatest internationalist, proudly acknowledged his people, just as Dimitrov proudly acknowledged his, at the Leipzig trial. Trotsky and Co. had no faith in the forces of the working class, in the alliance of the latter with the peasantry, did not consider them capable of marching at the head of the revolutionary movement, cosidered them incapable of building socialism with their own forces. Finally, it is characteristic that Trotsky and Co. never understood the really democratic essence of the proletarian dictatorship; that they opposed the idea of the *dictatorship of a minority*, an idea inimical to the people, to the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority which is directed against a minority of exploiters and idlers. Trotsky stood for a ruthless dictatorship over the masses of the Russian people. Zinoviev wanted to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat by the dictatorship of the Party, thus proving that he falsely understood not only the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also the leading role of the Party in the revolution, and the relation of the Party to the masses and classes. Because they had no faith in the masses, *they had no faith in the power of revolutionary democracy.*

Their under-estimation of the revolutionary role of the masses, their lack of faith in Socialism went hand in hand with their *over-estimation of Western capitalism.* They never understood the profound teaching of *Lenin* that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism, that we live in the epoch of disintegrating, decaying capitalism. They were ever and again haunted by the mirage of "super—imperialism" invented by Kautsky, and of "organised capitalism" invented by Bukharin. These false appraisals of capitalism had their serious consequences, for if one accepts the point that capitalism has not passed to the stage of decay, that it is still in a position to develop to higher forms, then this amounts to admitting that capitalism is still a progressive, advancing force. From this point of view fascism would not be a form of the rule of the most reactionary elements of capitalism in decay and decline, but a form of the rule of "organised capitalism", so to speak, i. e., something progressive, advanced in comparison with bourgeois democracy. Starting from this "theory" one inevitably arrives at the formation of an alliance with fascism against bourgeois democracy. Trotskyism traversed this road to the end. Against Democracy against the defence of Democracy, against the People's Front in defence of Democracy, for Fascism—such is the final position to which the Trotskyists have come.

The lack of faith in the victory of the socialist revolution, and the overestimation of capitalism by Trotsky and Co. were expressed in the way they repeatedly put forward demands directed towards the *restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.* The "Left" Trotsky for whom nothing was "revolutionary" enough, proposed in 1922 that the industrial enterprises and trusts should be permitted to mortgage their property, including their fixed capital, to foreign capitalists with a view to receiving credits. He stood for "capitalist control" over Soviet economy, and it was *Stalin* who, with the greatest passion, oppossed this counter-revolutionary proposal and hurled these words at Trotsky:

"If it is a question of such real capitalist control...then I must declare that we have no such control and never will have it so long as our proletariat are alive and as long as we have the dictatorship of the proletariat,"

Similar proposals were drawn up at different time by Bukharin, Pyatakov, Sokolnikov and others—proposals which in the main coincided with the programme of the Mensheviks whose leader, Dan, during all these years was demanding the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, adding that if the Soviets did not introduce capitalism peacefully, then it would be done by blood and violence. Thus the programme of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, is not at all a new and unexpected programme of the Trotskyist plotters. It is actually a very old programme adapted to the new conditions of their counter-revolutionary struggle.

The lack of faith in the power of the masses and the over-estimation of that of capitalism led Trotsky and his confederates to declare that the *building of socialism in one country*, in the Soviet Union, was impossible. They came forward in favour of capitulation, of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of "adapting" the Soviets to the capitalist world. However Trotsky and Co. continued consistently to develop their Menshevik programme, offering every possible resistance to the building of Socialism in the USSR, conspiring with the capitalist world to restore capitalism in the USSR, and allying themselves with fascism in order to fulfil their plans through war.

Their struggle against the Party of *Lenin—Stalin* led them inexorably into the camp of counter-revolution. Just as the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks joined hands with the whiteguards and the interventionist armies of the capitalist states during the civil war years, so the Trotskyists allied themselves with fascism. When they were no longer able to count on any kind of mass support in the Soviet Union in their counter-revolutionary machinations, when the kulaks were defeated, and the masses of working people were won for Socialism, the Trotskyists finally went over to Hitler. They were incapable of admitting honestly and frankly that their position was wrong, their perspective false, that *Stalin* and the Party had proved to be correct, and that therefore they should rectify their mistakes and unreservedly cooperate in the building of Socialism. They preferred to unite with the most furious enemies of the USSR to stake everything on war, on open counter-revolution.

It is no accident that the Trotskyists renewed their counter-revolutionary activity in 1931 and 1932, when the struggle for the collectivisation of agriculture, and for the victory of socialism was at its height. In these years *Stalin*, with his unshakeable faith in the masses, in the victory of Socialism, with his incomparable calm, energy and power of conviction *fought and won the greatest battle since October*.

During this battle all who had no faith in the masses, all sceptics, weaklings and opportunists again turned off the road and left what they believed to be a sinking ship, and attempted to save themselves by going over to the other camp. In these years Trotsky again drew to himself his old clique and wedded them to the "real forces" of the counter—revolution. They hoped to safeguard their future and to attain power so as to restore capitalism by betraying their class and country.

Some enemies of the Soviets and of Socialism are now trying to convince the workers in the capitalist countries that the Trotskyists are real "revolutionists." Throughout the course of the revolution and at every decisive moment they became terrified and uncertain, despairing of victory, and ready for "adaption" to capitalism. Every time *Lenin, Stalin* and the Party carried through a bold turn, made a big step forward, these people cried: "This is impossible! We shall be wrecked! We must turn back, otherwise we are lost! On every occassion when the exertion of all

forces was required in order to overcome difficulties, they began to discuss, to oppose, to intrigue, to disintegrate the forces and to increase the difficulties. What sort of "revolutionists" are these who, when all their speculations on domestic difficulties failed, when Socialism became a finally established fact in industry and agriculture, when the working class and collective farm peasantry merged into a united socialist people, and when all hopes of finding any kind of social basis within the Soviet Union itself for their counter revolutionary efforts vanished—based themselves on a new difficulty, on the war being prepared by the fascists, linked themselves with the fascists and placed themselves at their disposal to commit terrorist acts, espionage and wrecking work.

These "age—long revolutionists", as the "Voelkischer Beobachter", the chief organ of the German fascists, called Trotsky, are nothing other than cowards and opportunists, become traitors and criminals.

When one looks back upon their road to treason, a road leading from a profound lack of faith in the masses, from a profound lack of understanding of the essence of the proletarian revolution, from opportunism and adventure into the camp of counter—revolution, the human pettiness of these spies and traitors becomes clear. But human pettiness and wretchedness are not mitigating circumstances. The working class must ruthlessly smash the murderous tools of the class enemy, must ruthlessly destroy the base wreckers, who began with doubting in the power of the working class and ended with espionage, subversive acts, and the murder of workers at the behest of fascism.

SOVIET JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY

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Much has been made during the past twelvemonths of the firm and rigorous action taken by the Soviet authorities in smashing the ramifications of the Trotskyite saboteurs and Fascist spies within the Soviet Union. All that has happened, however, is that the Soviet Government have determined to purge the administration of the last traces of these spies, wreckers and enemies of the Soviet people, as speedily and effectively as possible.

And who can blame the Soviet regime for what they are doing? They are eradicating an evil which they allowed to grow and flourish under their very noses, they are saving the Soviet people from a disaster which was about to overtake them;—and they are not a moment too soon.

In the beginning, the Soviet regime did not believe it was worth while to pay much attention to the secret Trotskyist organisations and their nefarious underground activities. Because, in the first place, the Soviet authorities were pre-occupied with other business with the important work of Socialist reconstruction and with the operations and successful execution of the Second Five year Plan; and in the second place, they did not believe that the Trotskyists, in their blind hatred of the Soviet regime, and in their mad lust for power, would sink so low as to resort to terrorism, and would join hands with

fascists and anti—soviet elements, would even betray the Soviet people and the proletarian Revolution itself!—in order to gain that which they could not obtain by an open appeal to the Soviet people. But truth is stranger than fiction.

The Soviet authorities made a mistake which they could ill afford,—a mistake which, as they were soon to discover to their cost, was tantamount to a criminal neglect of their primary duties.

The Trotskyists took full advantage of the respite thus given them. They worked with devilish cunning and ingenuity,—throwing off all traces of suspicion on their movements by openly repudiating their hitherto Trotskyist leanings and affinity. They warmly and actively supported the regime in all its measures. They firmly entrenched themselves in every branch of Soviet activity and administration and patiently wormed their way up into full confidence to hold some of the highest places and key positions of the Sov et regime. From here they elaborated a whole network of espionoge in collaboration with Fascists in Italy, Germany and Japan, bartering away whole provinces to the Fascist powers in return for help against the Soviet regime. They hatched plans for overthrowing the Soviet Government by murdering some of the highest placed Soviet Officials, and by attempting to discredit the regime in the eyes of the people by their sabotaging and wrecking activities. All this has been proved to the hilt by documents, by the voluntary confessions of those arrested, and by other irrefutable evidence produced at each and every trial of the accused. The validity of the evidence and the guilt has been admitted as indisputable by impartial observers and eminent lawyers and intellectuals who watched the proceedings in Courts and testified to the fairness of the trials and to the justness of the sentences passed.

In hounding out the remnants of these Trotskyist criminals from their hiding places,—from every nook and corner of Soviet Russia, and from every branch of the Soviet administration, whether it be the Army, the Executive, the Collective Farm, or any other, the Soviet regime is only proving that they can learn in time from their mistakes and that they have no wish to perpetuate them. The Zeal with which they have set themselves to the task, and their promptness in conducting cases, pronouncing judgement and in carrying out the sentences can only evoke praise and admiration.

One can understand what a splendid handle these recent trials of traitors, spies and saboteurs in the Soviet Union have given to the Capitalist press and the professional anti—Soviet elements all over the world for intensifying their slanderous agitation against the Soviet Union. Unfortunately in our own country the press is far from being independent and feeds mainly on these very anti—Soviet and Capitalist sources. It is, therefore, not at all surprising to find the feuilletons of our Indian dailies full of wild stories about the Dictator Stalin and the One—Man show in Russia, or about the coming collapse in the Soviet Union and the possibility of a Civil war breaking out again in Russia. Rumours are also afloat about the White Russian circles in London and America searching for a Tsar. All this, however merely betrays the credulity of our editors, and their complete lack of appreciation of growing consciousness, intelligence and demands of our people.

But when our intellectual and political leaders, who claim to be impartial and even sympathetic observers of the Socialist evolution in Russia, join this chorus of abuse and slander initiated by the anti-Soviet press, without troubling to go deeper into the matter, without caring to sift the baseless and false propaganda, without waiting to acquaint

themselves with the details and full particulars of each event before pronouncing judgement, then one begins to doubt their 'impartiality' and honesty of purpose. Later developments or a more thorough examination of these cases may compel them to change their minds and issue contradictions, but the damage is already done. The very ease and haste with which they can be persuaded to believe whatever they are told betrays their true and innermost leanings. It does not behove men in their position of responsibility and privilege to abuse it.

The other day Mr. K. Raman Menon a Congress Minister of Madras, in reply to a question put to him asking why Comrade Batliwala, the socialist leader of Bombay, had been arrested thought fit to remark, "Where is the vaunted liberty and freedom of speech in the land of your imagination Soviet Russia, where executions take place almost daily?"

Again the President of the Indian National Congress, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, has stated vaguely that much was happening in Russia which he did not approve of.

It was left to the imagination of Mr. M. N. Roy, that eminent self appointed authority on the internal affairs of Soviet Russia, however, to supply a most remarkable and original theory of the way erstwhile revolutionaries turn traitors and ally with counter-revolutionaries. Here it is in his own words:—

"The deplorable conditions under which tried and devoted revolutionaries were forced to become instruments of counter-revolution are created by the repression of all criticism of leadership of the expressing even of any doubt about the correctness of the official policy. They are created in the stifling atmosphere characterised by utter absence of free discussion of problems that are constantly rising out of the experience of reconstruction. Clandestine activity on the part of dissenting elements is bound to take place in the absence of democracy in the administration of the party."

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One wonders what old Trotsky would have to say to this definition of his cult and creed!

What, then, do these criminal conspiracies of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union prove? They prove that the Soviet power today is firmly entrenched in the heart of the Soviet people. They prove that its economic base is *sound* and is *broadening* and *strengthening*. That is why the Fascists and their allies can only hit at the Soviet power by methods of *Terror*, spying and Sabotage. They prove that the Trotskyists in their mad lust for power, have become tools of Fascist Counter-revolution, there being no other open, direct or democratic way left for them.

And as to the trials, even a Tory and Imperialist like the Earl of Winterton had to admit in an article which appeared in the "News Chronicle", that the recent trials were not the machinations of Stalin.

The Soviet people are solidly behind their State. That is why these intrigues are being unearthed exposed and stamped out.

It is but natural for the Capitalist, and particularly the Fascist, States to send spies and wreckers to, and to hire them in, the Soviet Union. It is not in the least surprising that Nazi Germany is trying to extend her network of espionage and sabotage over the Soviet Union. Only hypocrites would like to give the impression that the existence of foreign spies in the Soviet Union is due to particular shortcomings of the Soviet system.

One can also understand that hostile States, hiring their agents in the Soviet Union, would try to procure persons in high office if possible. But if fascism succeeds in procuring the services of some important Soviet functionary then these hypocrites sanctimoniously

exclaim: What's happening here? Isn't it terrible?

And when the organs of Soviet power expose, seize and convict such a person, and punish him as he deserves *without any consideration for the high office he held*, then these Pharisees have no good word for the Soviet Union, and begin to murmur that the Soviet Union is too harsh. When will they learn that the system under which the highest office does not save a criminal from just punishment is politically and morally far superior to a system under which justice usually stops at a fat purse or a prominent social position?

If there still be some among the real friends of the Soviet Union who are surprised at the fact that among the spies and wreckers hired by fascism were persons who held important posts in the Soviet Union and the Red Army, let them but recall what was revealed during the last trials of the Trotskyists. Then it was shown that this criminal lot, blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Union, placed their services for wrecking and espionage at the disposal of foreign organisations. It was shown that the Trotkyists were looking forward to the military defeat of the Soviet Union, to the partition of her territory and to the restoration of Capitalism. In view of this it becomes quite clear why the Trotskyists allied with the foreign fasicst espionage and wrecking organisations.

It is not pleasant to find that such people exist nor are poisonous snakes very pleasant, though, nevertheless, they exist. The decisive fact for us is that the Soviet Union knows now to deal effectively and energetically with them. All honest people can only be thankful to the Soviet Union for its rigorous steps against these fascist spies, who had almost brought the World to the brink of another—war. The Soviet Union and her Red Army are and wlll remain an indivsible bulwark of world peace and progress.

The recent trials and executions have been made the excuse for exposing the sham of Soviet democracy? It has been argued that these conspiracies are the direct outcome of a curtailment of the liberties of the people and democracy in Russia. Is such an assumption correct? Let us examine it for a moment.

We find that in countries where the conspirators are 'patriots' that is to say fighters in the cause of the people's freedom and democracy, the unearthing of 'conspiracies' is inevitably followed by the introduction of Ordinances and special legislation to check the growth of democratic agitation. Is such a thing happening in Russia today? No. On the contrary we find that the Government are so confident of the whole hearted support and backing of the people, that right in the midst of crushing these handful of desparate agents of fascism, they have passed and introduced laws which guarantee a wider democracy to the people than obtains anywhere in the world today. And that is the new electoral Law of the Soviet Union. For us in India, who are now tasting the first fruits of the new Constitution, this new Constitutional Law of the Soviet Union has a great significance, for it affords a very interesting contrast between the democracy that obtains here in India and the Soviet democracy which the peoples of the Soviet Union are now enjoying. Here are some of the salient features of this new Soviet democracy :—

The electoral law of the Soviet Union is the first real, universal, equal and secret suffrage in the whole world. There is no bourgeois—democratic country which has not set up a whole series of restrictions to the fundamental law. Thus in France, half the population, namely all women, are deprived of the right to vote. Elsewhere a large section of the Youth of the country is deprived of the vote by fixing a relatively high age qualification. Now-

here can soldiers vote. There are other *countries*, like ours, where there are property and educational restrictions, and yet others where there are racial barriers. All citizens of the U. S. S. R., however, who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race and nationality, religion, education, residential qualifications, social origin, property status and *past activity* have the right to participate in elections of deputies and to be elected to the supreme Council of the U. S. S. R., with the exception of the mentally deficient and persons deprived of electoral rights by a sentence of the Court. All citizens take part in elections on an equal basis. Women have a right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all citizens.

The nature of an electoral system is best shown by the provisions regarding the exercise of the franchise. In many countries these provisions are such as to debar in practice several persons from voting, and in particular deprive the poor population of the possibility of running their own candidates. For example in Britain, before a candidate can be nominated he has to deposit £ 150. We find nothing of this sort in the Soviet Union.

Social democrats and Labourites of other countries have hitherto sneered at the mention of Soviet democracy because only one political party is allowed to exist in the Soviet Union, Let them now take the trouble of reading the provisions for putting forward candidates, and then tell us if it is possible even to conceive of an electoral law which could better guarantee full expression to the will of the electors in regard to the choice of candidates. Every trade—Union, every cultural society, every sport organisation, in fact even the workers and office employees in any enterprise, the peasants on any collective farm have the right to nominate *their own* candidates and the right to canvass support for them by word and writing without hindrance.

Thirty days prior to the elections the Soviet of toilers' deputies post the lists of voters for general inspection. The Executive Committee of the Soviet of toilers' deputies is obliged to consider *every* statement regarding an error in this list within three days, and either to make the necessary corrections or to issue to the claimant a written explanation of the motives for the rejection of his statement. In the event of a disagreement the claimant may submit a complaint to the people's Court.

The People's Court is obliged, within three days, to consider in open court session, summoning the claimant and a representative of the Soviet, the complaint about an error in the list, and immediately to communicate its decision both to the claimant and to the Soviet. The decision of the People's Court is final.

The effectiveness of democracy in all capitalist countries is restricted within very narrow limits. For example in France, in the 1936 elections the enormous majority of the French people pronounced in favour of the programme of the People's Front. It was thought that this unanimous will of the people would be respected. But the heads of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who control the whole economic life of the country, were able with the aid of the cartels, the banks, the stock-exchange, etc., to frustrate the policy of the People's Front Government. When no other way was open to them, they fell back on the Senate where the reactionary bourgeoisie is better represented than in the Chamber of Deputies.

For the rights of the people are one thing, and the power of Capital in the hands of a small minority is ano-

ther. When the rights of the people come into conflict with the forces of Capital, the people usually come off second best. Thus in the Capitalist countries the minority of the people rules, and when this minority grants the people the formal right to have a say in the government of the country, it takes good care to see that this right is not used to endanger its own rule.

In the Soviet Union the means of production are not in the hands of a special class of Capitalists; they are the common property of the whole people and serve not to enrich a few hundred families, but to ensure the increasing prosperity and well—being of the whole population. That is the great achievement of the proletarian revolution. To guard this achievement and to extend it; to this end are all the means of the Soviet State power employed.

Democracy in the Soviet Union is likewise a form of rule, but unlike bourgeois democracy it is the rule of the enormous majority of the people. And precisely for this reason one has no need in the Soviet Union to limit the rights of the masses, and for this reason also everything is done in order to guarantee the right of self—determination of the masses.

TROTSKYISM

Revelations in the Trotskyist Trials and Our Tasks

A. S. K.

[In this article only broad facts revealed during August 1936 and January 1937 trials of the Trotskyite Centres have been stated. The writer further establishes how the struggle against Trotskyism is a part of our general struggle. Today when the Trotskyite conspiracy has been crushed and its ramifications are being uprooted by the strong arm of proletarian justice this article is particularly timely for whenever the news about the trial of some Trotskyites appears we find some bewilderment in our own camp of anti-imperialism. This article will help to convince sincere sympathisers of the Soviet Union and serious anti-imperialists that not sympathy, with, but struggle against Trotskyites is the duty of every anti-Imperialist every individual who stands for Progress and Peace and not of the Communists alone. Ed.]

History will lay it on record that at the trial of the anti Soviet Trotskyist Centre led by Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and Serebriakov, which took place between January 23-30, 1937, in the Supreme Court of the USSR, there was disclosed one of the most monstrous part of the hellish mechanism

for kindling a new imperialist war and, in particular, a counter-revolutionary war against the USSR.

The trial established the fact that under the leadership of Trotsky, the renegade of socialism, who acted in agreement with the German and Japanese incendiaries of war and on their direct instructions, a wide-spread gang of Troskyists had been at work on the territory of the Soviet Union. This gang tried, by means of wrecking and subversive acts, by espionage and terrorist acts, to undermine the economic and military might of the Soviet State, to accelerate and provoke an armed attack on the USSR, to further the victory of the fascist aggressors and the defeat of the USSR, the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and the restoration of capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie.

The August trial of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist terrorist centre had already revealed part of the counter-revolutionary activities carried out in fulfilment of this plan, namely, the organisation of the murder of the leaders of the Communist Party and of the Government of the USSR.

But at the trial in August of last year the accused Zinoviev, Kamenev, Miachkovsky, Dreizer and others, they admitted, in the main, only those points which at the moment had been discovered by the organ of state security namely, the organisation of terror, the murder of S. M. Kirov, preparations for the murder of the leaders of the party and the Government, and first and foremost of the leader of the working people, Comrade Stalin. At the August trial, it was established that contacts existed between the members of the terrorist gang and the German secret service, the Gestapo with the cognisance and participation of Trotsky. However, the political basis of this criminal activity-namely, of the agreement arrived at between Trotsky and the leaders of the German National-Socialist Party and representatives of the Japanese militarist clique, for the purpose of directly preparing and accelerating an armed attack against the USSR, for the purpose of dismembering it, dividing it up among the aggressors, and restoring capitalism, as well as the wrecking and subversive activities of the Trotskyists together with professional spies, all this was then purposely concealed by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Smirnov.

At this trial, after the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs had disclosed not only the terrorist but also the wrecking, subversive and spying activities carried on under the leadership of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre composed of Pyatakov, Radek and others. It was established to the full the whole of the monstrously coherent programme and criminal activities of that enemy of the people, Trotsky-agent of the German and Japanese warmongers.

At the trial the following was estaplished. Trostky had concluded an agreement with Hess,the representative of the ruling National Socialist Party of Germany, by virtue of which Trotsky, on behalf of his adherents operating on the territory of the USSR, undertook actively to assist, by all possible means and in particular by the means indicated by the corresponding General Staff,in undermining the economic and military might of the USSR before and during a military onslaught of the fascist aggressors against USSR. As a reward for this assistance, the fascists promised to aid Trotsky to seize power, on condition that the territory of the USSR would be dismembered, the Ukraine to be transferred to fascist Germany, and other economic concessions to be granted which amounted to subjugating the whole country to foreign capitalism. All this would have meant handing over the factories to the capitalists, liquidating the collective and Soviet State farms, and restoring capitalism in the USSR.

Trotsky concluded a similar "agreement" with Japan to which the whole of the Maritime and Amur provinces, besides Soviet Sakhalin, were to be conceded.

Besides this, Trotsky undertook to support the entire foreign and military policy of fascist Germany in Europe, aimed in particular at the seizure, dismemberment and subjection to her influence of Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan countries and also the policy of Japan in Asia, aiming, first and formest, at the seizure of China. In particular, provision was made for help to Japan in the war she is preparing against the U. S. A.

These "agreements" between Trotsky and the aggressors, for aid in the war they were preparing, were later confirmed in Moscow itself by Radek (as regards Germany) in an interview with German officials, and by Sokolnikov (as regards Japan) with Japanese officials.

The practical activities of the Trotskyists were subordinated to the fascist programme and strategy thus established. Wrecking, subversive acts, and murders were to be carried out to a still greater extent than in the past on the instructions of, and according to the specific tasks set by the "allied" General Staffs.

Before the court there was unfolded a horrible picture of crimes already committed in fulfilment of this plan. Besides, the general task of wrecking of the plans of production, and worsening the quality of production first and foremost in enterprises important for defence, and on the railroads, arson and explosions in factories and individual shops and mines were organised, as well as train wrecks, and damage to rolling stock and railoard tracks. Moreover, the Trotskyists deliberately aimed at destroying human lives, for said, they, "the more victims the better, since this will arouse the anger of the workers." Special attention was devoted to wrecking work in the chemical industry.

Among the most diabolical crimes, which chill the blood in the veins of every honest man, were the wrecking of a troop train at Shumikha station by Trotskyists on the instructions of the Japanese secret service, which took place on October 27,1935, and death of 29 Red Army men and injury to 29 others and also the explosion on September 23, 1936, in the "Central" Pit of the Kemerovo Colliery, which resulted in the death of ten workers and 14 others being severely injured—the handiwork of the Trotskyists.

Feverish activity was also carried on by Trotskyist groups, in preparing a number of wrecking and subversive acts, the fulfilment of which was to coincide with the beginning of military action by the fascist aggressors, which, according to the information and line emanating from Trotsky, was to take place in the very near future. These wrecking and subversive acts were to consist in war time of blowing up railway constructions, of arson in military stores and canteens, of the wrecking of troop trains, and also of deliberate infection of troop trains, canteens and Red Army sanitary depots by bacteria of highly infectious diseases.

Side by side with this, methodical work of supplying confidential information to foreign secret service agents went on.

The organisation of terrorist acts occupied a special position in the activities of the Trotskyist gangs led by the "parallel centre". Plans were prepared for the murder of leaders of the CPSU and the the Soviet Government, of Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, and others Several of the planned attempts were undertaken, and it was only by force of accidental circumstances that they did not lead to a catastrophe.

Those responsible for all these crimes stood their trial before the Supreme Court, and paid the penalty for their actions.

The trial of the anti—Soviet, Trotskyist Centre led by Pyatakov, Radek and others, has delivered a most powerful blow not only at the criminal gang of Trotskyists who have been operating for a number of years on the territory of the USSR, but also at the fascist warmongers themselves. It has revealed to the whole world their plans of military aggression directed not only against the USSR, but also against a number of other countries.

It has shown the sort of methods to which these warmongers resort in order to ensure for themselves the most favourable conditions for their designs, the moment military operations begin. It has shown the type of accomplices and agents they are seeking for, and finding in the very countries they are preparing to attack among the degenerate drags of all kinds of "opositionist" groups and organisations which hide their criminal work and their connections with fascism behind false names and fraudulent slogans.

The trial has proved that in all those countries where Trotskyist groups exist—groups led by Trotsky inspired by Trotsky, orientating themselves on Trotsky, on this unmasked agent of fascist Germany and Japan—all these groups work for war and fascism; that in all these groups outright provocateurs and spies, and unscrupulous adventurists and blind dupes, merge together.

Trotsky and all the branches of "international" Trotskyism have one carefully elaborated, logical, purposeful "programme", identical with the programme of the most reactionary bourgeoisie and fascism. These possess one "strategy"—a line of provoking war and of achieving victory for the fascist aggressor. The tactics used by Trotskyist provocateurs in the different countries are adapted to the particular conditions of these countries. In the USSR, where the victory of Socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes have doomed the Trotskyists to an impenetrable isolation from the masses of the population, all that they are able to do is to carry on deeply conspiratorial, down right bandit, wrecking, subversive and terrorist activities. In the capitalist countries, where they are afforded greater opportunities of manoeuvering, they try in provocateur fashion, and hiding behind "left" phrases, to cause disruption in the ranks of the working class. But here also their work is entirely bound up with the work of the fascists. Their main task everywhere is to carry on a struggle against the anti-fascist movement, to engage in undermining work against the anti-fascist people's front.

The struggle against Trotskyism has now become one of the most important tasks not only of the Communists but also of the entire international working class movement, and not only of the workers, but of all sincere democrats, anti-fascists, and opponents of war.

Any under-estimation whatsoever of the danger of Trotskyism is supremely harmful to the workingclass and anti-fascist movements. True, there are only a few open Trotskyist groups and organisations in all the countries, and they are weak. But the peculiarity of this variety and agency of fascism lies in its duplicity, in the way it worms itself under the most varied guises through all the fissures in the working class movement, in the way it seeks out the weak places, and oozes forth its poison—"the bacteria of highly infectious diseases," as in the troop trains of the Red Army.

The Trotskyists operate among inexperienced young people who are susceptible to the influence of "revolutionary" phrases. In the lands of fascism, they make use of the circum-

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stance that the more experienced active members of the anti-fascist movement are being systematically swept away by the repressive activity of the secret police, for the purpose of carrying on their provocative activity in the illegal organisations of the working class.

They direct their attentions in a number of countries towards, these elements who are disillusioned with Social Democracy and, while turning away from it become contaminated with the Anti-Communist, Trotskyist ideology. They find ground for their work among broad sections of the Socialist parties, from the most reactionaries who use their services in the struggle against the unity of the working class movement, to the "lefts", who are fascinated by their extremist phraseology. Finally they find a responsive audience among the individualist, anarchist-minded, petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre has dealt a most severe and mortal blow at Trotskyism. Now it is a question of unmasking Trotskyism to the full, of driving it once and for all out of the ranks of the workingclass and from among all people, of blocking up all the ways and channels through which its poison oozes.

The sum total of the irrifutable facts which go to prove the criminal machinations of the fascist aggressors and the criminal offences of their Trotskyist agents has made a very strong impression in all capitalist countries. Under the weight of all these proofs, even the "sceptical ones", even those who in the past expressed doubts, about the "likelihood" of the monstrous crimes of the Trotskyists, have been compelled to change their attitude. The more farsighted bourgeois leaders have felt and understood that it is not a question of crime aimed against one country alone, the USSR, but of an extensive network of activities which menace all peace—loving countries.

All the more astounding and harmful, then, is the fact that the majority of Social Democratic news—papers and prominent leaders of the Second International have considered it possible, this time again, to take their stand in defence of the Trotskyist gangsters, wreckers and terrorists, the direct agents of the fascist warmongers. This is witness of the fact that many of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders have not yet lived down their wrong attitude towards fascism and the menace of the war being prepared by the fascists, and of their hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union as a state, as the land of working class dictatorship, the land of Socialism.

It is necessary to recall again and again that the fascists, in particular the German fascists, would not, nor could have, come to power, had this not been facilitated for them by the fatal policy of Social Democracy, which made concession after concession to fascism, and remained hostile to the end to the united proletarian front persistently proposed by the Communists. We find manifestations of this suicidal policy in the position adopted by the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy even to this day, even in those countries where, thanks to the persistence of the Communists and the pressure of the masses of the people, the united working class and anti—fascist people fronts have been achieved. We find manifestations of this most harmful policy in all countries where the rejection of the united workingclass and anti—fascist people's fronts by the leadership of the Social Democratic Parties is increasing the chances of the attacking fascists who are frequently in direct contact with aggressive German fascism.

It must be said again and again, firmly and frankly, that all those, who not with standing the obvious, are adamant in their blindness, who defend

the convicted agents of fascism and the warmongers, and cover up this defence with juridical chicanery and "psychological" arguments, are in fact playing into the hands of fascism.

The struggle against Trotskyism, the struggle to crush Trotskyism, is most closely connected with the common struggle of the workingclass and the masses of working people generally, against fascism and war, and for the unity and solidarity of their ranks; it has become a component part of this struggle.

Fascism, which is experiencing insurmountable internal contradictions and difficulties, is now striving to let loose the horrors of war. All that is honest in the international working class movement and the movement of the wide masses of the people closely connected with it, is against war. Can we fight against war without fighting against Trotskyism? No, we cannot. Because Trotskyism, which has no deep roots anywhere among the people, has to place its stakes upon war, and does so reckless of consequences. This is why THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR.

The prestige of the Soviet Union, unswerving champion of peace, land of tremendous achievements in Socialist construction and of the great Stalin Constitution, is growing tremendously today among the masses of the people of all countries. Who is against the USSR, who is trying to discredit it? Fascism and its Trotskyist agents. Can we fight in defence of the Soviet Union without fighting against its enemy, Trotskyism? No, we cannot. Hence the STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF THE USSR.

What is stirring and inspiring millions and millions of people in all countries to the struggle, is the unity of the working class movement, and the establishment and development of the People's Front. Who are against unity and who are alarmed at the successes in the field of unity? The reactionary bourgeoisie and the fascists. Who try to wreck and prevent working class unity, and to undermine the unity of the masses of the people? Trotskyism, the agent of fascism. Can we fight for unity in the working class movement, against a split, without fighting against Trotskyism? It is clear that we cannot. And that is why THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT, AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR.

One of the most important conditions determining the victory over fascism is to restore the vitality of the entire working class movement, to cleanse it of all kinds of corruption and, in particular, of the espionage and provocation which the enemies of the workingclass are disseminating in the ranks of the workers. Can we fight against espionage and provocation without fighting Trotskyism, which has made a principle of double-dealing, camouflage and deception? We cannot. That is why THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PROVOCATION AND ESPIONAGE INSIDE THE WORKINGCLASS MOVEMENT.

Today the defence of the Spanish people against the fascist rebels and German—Italian fascist intervention is the chief concern of the international proletariat and democracy, the world over. The victory of Republican Spain will be a victory over world—fascism. Who are carrying on wrecking work to prevent this victory, who are playing a foul game to bring about the defeat of the Spanish people? The Trotskyists, the enemies of the Spanish People's Front, the enemies of working class unity, the enemies of

trade union unity, the enemies of the united organisation of youths, the enemies of a united, disciplined People's Army, the enemies of the International Brigades, which they label the "praetorian guard," the enemies of the USSR which is affording tremendous moral and political aid to the Spanish people—in a word, the Spanish Trotskyists are conducting themselves as the foremost detachment of the notorious "Fifth Column" of the rebel Franco. Can we support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people without fighting against this treacherous Trotskyist gang? No, we cannot. Hence THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR REPUBLICAN SPAIN.

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre has shown how great is the danger of war, how subtle are the methods used by the fascists in their preparations for war. The trial has shown what a particularly foul, treacherous and harmful role is being played by the Trotskyist agents of fascism and their leader, Trotsky, the enemy of the people, in the preparations being made for war.

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre has brought a severe defeat to fascism and its Trotskyist agency. But the Trotskyist agency of fascism is not only working on the territory of the USSR. Whenever fascism is trying to create favourable conditions for the war it is preparing, its agents the Trotskyists. The fighting front against Trotskyism must be extended. The defeat which it suffered in Moscow must be followed up by its defeat in all the countries into which it has managed to worm its way. It must be surrounded by a cordon of complete isolation. It must be exposed, no matter what the mask behind which it is hiding; it must be rendered harmless and completely crushed.

TWENTY YEARS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION—A SYMPOSIUM

Under the Tsars

The prosperous American or west European visitor to the Soviet Union is wont to compare the conditions prevailing in Russia today with those obtaining in his own country under capitalism. And how does he do this? He compares the life of an average Soviet citizen with that of the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Europe or America and fails to discover any improvement in the Soviet people's material comforts. But he takes good care never to contrast the average Soviet citizen with an '*average*' compatriot of his or with the masses the millions of workers and peasants, under capitalism. For that would prove indisputably and for ever how much better the average Soviet citizen is fed, clothed and looked after.

But even such a contrast would not be a true enough indication of the material comfort and progress which

the people of the USSR are enjoying and making under Socialism. To gauge this advance we must look to pre-Revolutionary Russia of twenty years ago. And this is what the records of those times tell us.

The working class of Tsarist Russia lived in conditions of extremely severe exploitation and poverty. In 1912, in the article "The wages of the workers and the Profits of the Capitalists in Russia," *Lenin* showed on the basis of official bourgeois statistics that the average wages of workers in 1908 amounted to 246 roubles a year.

These beggarly wages of 20 roubles a month did not provide for the workers' families anything approaching a decent existence. After ten or twelve hours of exhausting work in the factories, in hard and insanitary conditions the workers were forced to remain half-starved, to live in miserable huts, and to wear second-hand clothing.

On leaving the gates of the factory, the workers fell first of all into the clutches of the house owner, who took 15 to 22 per cent. of the pitiful budget of the proletarian family. For this money, only an insignificant part of the workers could live with their families in a separate room. The remainder had to live in odd corners, in kitchens, in connecting rooms, in garrets, in cellars, in dug-outs, and in sheds.

Here, for example, is what the tsarist *Manukhin* was forced to admit when he visited the Lena goldfields in 1912:-

"Out of 103 barracks, only 15 were in a satisfactory condition. The other 86 were absolutely unsuitable as dwellings in winter. The walls had holes in them, the glasses in the windows was broken, earth was dribbling from the ceilings and, as a protection against it, the resourcefulness of the workers had constructed a second ceiling of pieces of calico.

"In winter it was so cold in the barracks that wet boots froze to the floor.

"Behind curtains, two adults and one or two children would be sleeping.

"There was not a single spare sheet in the barracks. There was nowhere to hang a washing can, nowhere to put clothes."

The capitalists deducted tremendous fines from the pitiful wages of the workers, amounting to 10 to 15 per cent. of the wages. The manufacturers fined the workers indiscriminately for anything, just as they pleased.

The fraction of the wages which remained after paying rent and buying food was so small that even the best paid workers were unable to buy new clothes and were forced to buy worn-out second-hand clothing and shoes. Even among the workers in the capital, St. Petersburg, about 40 per cent. bought second-hand clothing and footwear.

The exploitation of the labour of women and children was particularly shameless and inhuman. Of the total number of workers before the war, about 20 per cent. were women and about ten per cent. were children and young people. It should be remembered that the average wages of women were only half the wages of adult men, while the wages of young people were only one-third. The women received no vacation for childbirth. Even in St. Petersburg, three quarters of the working women did not give up work until the last minute before birth.

Here is what a *Donbas miner* tells about the life of workers in tsarist Russia:

"The miner was morose and joyless. A smile was rarely to be seen on his face. He drowned his sorrows in drink.

"He would go to a drinking-house fill himself with drink, and begin a heavy and joyless orgy.

"The police made money out of our sorrow. Miners would begin to fight, and the police would take them to the police station and beat them until blood flowed. Besides this, the miners

had to pay them a bribe to let them go. The police would beat them with whips, ram-rods or simply with their fists, careless of where their blows might fall...

"The miners had nowhere to take a bath. They lived in filth. Their food was meagre. Only on festivals did they have meat, while on other days they had bread and tea and nothing else. The children were weak and suffered from rickets. They never set their eyes on milk. In the whole settlement where there were over 1,000 children, there was one school.

The workers had a hard life under tsarism but the lot of the *unemployed* was still worse. The tsarist government did not trouble about statistics or organising labour exchanges, although the number of unemployed amounted to millions. As many as ten million poor peasants would come every year from the villages to the towns, selling their labour power for the most beggarly pay.

The fierce exploitation had a most baneful effect on the health of the workers. According to the incomplete reports of the factory inspectors of the time there were 323 accidents registered for every 10,000 workers. Out of this number, about one-fifth remained cripples for life.

The WORLD WAR made the situation of the working class still worse The rule of the capitalists in Russia brought it to the verge of exhaustion from hunger...

The Russian *peasants*, under tsarism were crushed down by landlordism. A handful of landlords, capitalists and kulaks in 50 gubernias of European Russia owned 140 million dessiatins of land, while 10 million peasant homesteads, ruined by serf exploitation, owned 75 million dessiatins. Millions of middle peasants had at their disposol 15 million dessiatins of land. The Tsar, Nikolai Romanov, owned about one million dessiatins of land, while the Grand Dukes and the smaller nobility owned ten million dessiatins.

The life of the peasants under tsarism can be seen from the account of a collective farmer from *Kursk* region:-

"It was prison and not life. As every body knows, it was no joy for a landless peasant to put himself under the yoke of the landlord. But I had to eat, and so I went to work for the Landlord Egers for 95 roubles a year. He drained everything out of me. I had to cart manure and sow and plough and reap; in short, I was like a machine. Some times I fell asleep as I was handling a scythe. My whole body would ache so that it hurt me to look at the sky.

"The whole village worked for this blood—sucker, Egers. Some were paying for grain they had borrowed, some for vodka, some for pasture for their horses, some because their cattle had strayed into his fields, some in payment for fines.

"You see why the whole village worked for the landlord. He had 500 dessiatins of land. But our 40 peasant homesteads had 210 dessiatins. He had 40 dessiatins of forest, while we had just a stick to hold in our hands. He had an oil press, a horse—driven mill, two threshing—machines, a seeding drill, and other implements. But we had empty hands. He had 30 horses, while our 40 peasant homesteads had only 20.

"And so, whatever we wanted, we had to bow down to the landlord Egers. We would rent a dessiatin of land from him for 30 roubles. We would work a whole year, cultivate the land as carefully as a mother looks after her child, and then when we reckoned up, we found that we had slaved for nothing. There would be three stacks, and we required at least six to pay for the lead.

"What could we do? How could we get out of it? We would go to Kursk, Kharkov, Donbas, looking for bread."

The imperialist war in 1914 impoverished the villagers still further.

Grain, cattle, were taken at throw-away prices. Taxes had increased and the price of manufactured articles rose. The sown area contracted and the harvest from the fields became smaller; starvation and want reigned in the villages. During the war the landlords and kulaks amassed enormous sums by supplying produce for the army, by profiteering, by buying cattle and implements at next to nothing from the ruined peasants.

Peasant riots broke out more and more frequently. The manor houses of landlords were burnt and looted. In a number of places these riots grew into mass revolts (Kazakstan, Kirghisi Uzbekistan, etc.) and the government sent punitive expeditions to put them down. These expeditions acted on the principles "arrest as few as possible and shoot as many as possible" because the Minister of Home Affairs of the tsarist government, *Durvono* had ordered: "Arrests do not achieve their aim and it is impossible to try hundreds of thousands of people......I order you to destroy the rebels immediately by force of arms, and in case of resistance to burn their houses." Hunger and want, oppression and unbridled licence, the whip and the knout reigned in the Russian Villages.

Now, 20 years later, the agents of fascism—the Trotskyists and their Right accomplices—tried to bring the capitalist past once more into the flourishing Soviet country. Caught red—handed by the Soviet government and exposed, they received their desserts. The cause of Socialism, won by the blood of the workers and peasants, is in strong Bolshevik hands, and no one will be able to turn back the wheel of history.

TWENTY YEARS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The Leadership of Lenin

Twenty years ago, in November, 1917, the Russian Proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, overthrew the bourgeois regime of the Provisional (Kerensky) Government and set up instead a Soviet regime in Russia a dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The November Revolution is a landmark in the history of humanity an outstanding achievement which will always be remembered and commemorated by future generations, as a turning point in their destiny and progress.

The November Revolution marks the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the toiling masses of a country for the first time in history. It ushered in the era of Socialism and Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which has ever since been the hope and inspiration of an increasing number of people all over the world.

In commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, we will do well to recall briefly its aims and objects; the forces at its command and others which it fought and crushed; the factors which helped

and ensured, its final victory and triumph. This, in short, is the story of the struggle of the Bolsheviks, a great, devoted and disciplined party, the vanguard of the Russian proletariat and, above all, it is the story of a great leadership—the leadership of Lenin.

Lenin arrived in Petrograd on the evening of April 3 (16 New calendar), 1917. On the following day he appeared at a meeting of the Bolsheviks who were taking part in the All-Russian Conference of the Soviets of the workers, and soldiers' deputies, with the thesis "ON THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT REVOLUTION."

"The bourgeois-democratic February revolution was the first revolution let loose by the imperialistic world war. It has been the lot of the Russian workers to have the honour and the good luck of being the first to begin the revolution, that is to say, the great and only just and justifiable war of the oppressed against the oppressors," (Lenin-Complete Works, Vol. XX, p. 63) wrote Lenin in March, 1917, after the arrival of the first news concerning the revolution in Russia. The workers in revolt and, under their leadership, the peasants who were clad in soldiers' uniform, overthrew the tsarist autocracy. The centuries-old tsarist monarchy completely collapsed.

After the overthrow of tsarism, the bourgeoisie intended to harvest the fruits of the victory of the people. This was the case in all the other revolutions brought about by the world war. Everywhere, the bourgeoisie was trying, with the assistance of Social-Democracy, to exploit in its own interests the revolt of the people. In Russia alone these plans of the bourgeoisie miscarried; for there, the Party of the Bolsheviks worked for the further development of the revolution and for the overthrow of capitalism.

The February bourgeois-democratic revolution had created a very complicated situation.

The dual role which arose out of the February revolution could not maintain itself for long. The bourgeoisie aimed at setting up its own rule, continuing the war and strangling the revolution. In a series of articles, Comrade STALIN appealed for the arming of the proletariat, whilst he exposed the imperialist character of the war, tore the mask off from the face of the provisional Government and instigated the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries who made common cause with the bourgeoisie. Up to the year 1917, the Bolshevist Party had already travelled far along the road of revolutionary struggles. In the course of many years it had been schooled by Lenin into the Party of the proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In its armoury it possessed Lenin's teachings of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the Socialist revolution, it had Lenin's teaching on imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, and the teaching of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in a single country.

In the course of many years, the Bolsheviks had carried on a struggle against the bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, and the opportunists from the Second International.

"...It was necessary to make the total experience of the Party generally available, it was necessary to formulate the new tasks in new conditions." This was also done by Lenin in the April theses. (History of the Civil War in the USSR, Vol. I, p. 102.)

In his APRIL THESES, Lenin laid down a concrete programme of the struggle for the Socialist revolution in Russia. Lenin showed the ways and means for winning over the masses for the struggle for victory and defined the tasks of the Bolshevik Party. To all the most complicated problems of the revolution, to all vitally important questions which concerned dozens of

millions of people, he supplied an answer in the theses. He pointed out the driving forces of the revolution, the place of the individual classes, and issued the world historical slogan "All power to the Soviets!"

Many years after 1917, a few months before his death, Lenin read SUCHANOV'S "SKETCHES ON THE REVOLUTION," in Gorki. These were the "Sketches" in which this Menshevist apostle described the revolutionary events of 1917, and wrote of the April Theses and the impression which they made upon the bourgeoisie and the reformists. In his marginal notes on Suchanov's book, Lenin pointed out with full profoundness of Marxist dialectic, the paths of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist system, he exposed the betrayal on the part of the opportunists and outlined the programme of the struggle for the construction of Socialist society.

"Russia has not reached the heights of the development of the productive forces which can render Socialism possible." All the heroes of the Second International and naturally among them, Suchanov, were very proud of this *phrase*. *For the* construction of Socialism, they say, civilisation is necessary. Very well. But why could we not create in advance such prerequisites of civilisation as the ousting of the landowners and of the capitalists, and then begin the forward movement towards Socialism." (Lenin-Complete Works, Vol. XXVII, pp. 399-401.)

In the April Theses, Lenin, with all the boldness of a genius and leader of the revoltionary proletariat, showed the way of the creation of the "prerequisites" of civilisation, the path which led to the era of the proletarian revolution, to the age of Socialism.

With the overthrow of the tsarist government, the revolution passed through its first phase. Now a fresh phase was to be entered upon—the struggle for the Socialist Revolution, such was Lenin's formulation in the theses of the decisive task of the moment.

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a transition from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, led to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie—to the SECOND stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poor strata of the peasantry." ("Lenin—Complete Works, Vol. XX. p. 115.)

In the place of the existing state, no parliamentary republic, but a republic of the Soviets was to be created, that is to say, such a state "Whose prototype is the Paris Commune."

The question of the war was indissolubly bound up with all this. Lenin emphasised that without the overthrow of capitalism, the war could not and would not, be ended by means of a democratic peace. The Provisional Government, he said, must be unceasingly exposed as long as the masses have not yet become convinced of its imperialist character and until they overthrow it under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

One of the most complicated questions of the revolution, the land question, had its solution supplied in the theses. The confiscation of the lands of the great estate owners, the nationalisation of the whole of the land formed the solution of the basic problem of the reserves of the revolution.

The tasks of the party policy in the sphere of economics were defined as follows in the theses.

"Our IMMEDIATE task shall be, not the "introduction of Socialism," but to bring social production and distribution of products under the control solely of the Soviets of Workers' deputies." (Lenin—complete Works, Vol. XX, p. 117.)

But forces were necessary for the realisation of the programme which had been outlined. Therefore, the decisive task was the winning over of the masses for the Bolsheviks. Without a trace of illusion, Lenin said that at that time the Bolsheviks had only the minority behind them.

But the course of events, the continuation of the war, the whole policy of the Provisional Government would show the masses the true bourgeois character of the government and would lead the masses to the Party of the Bolsheviks. The workers in the towns, the soliders at the front, the peasants in the villages, would, from their own experiences, convince themselves of the correctness of the slogans of Bolshevism thus winning over of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, upon whom the Provisional Government was supporting itself. Therefore, the main offensive must be directed against the reformists.

Lenin proposed that the name of the Party be altered—that instead of being known as the Social-Democratic Party, it should become the communist Party, and to work out a new programme. He put forward the task of the organisation of a Third, Communist, International.

Lenin's Theses as a mighty document which outlined the historic clash between two classes, two worlds', brought about a division of the friends and enemies of the Socialist revolution on the spot. The attitude adopted towards the theses defined the attitude towards the decisive problems of the revolution, then taking form. The howls of rage of the bourgeoisie and their supporters against the Lenin's theses unfailingly betrayed the enemies of Socialism. They felt that concealed in the theses of Lenin there was a tremendous irresistible strength. The programme for the destruction of the capitalist order was already drafted in the theses.

Not only did the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, Trotsky and the other lackeys of the bourgeoisie raised their voices against Lenin's proposals, but also a small group inside the Bolshevik Party. KAMENEV who was supported by RYKOV, NOGIN, and others, wrote that "Lenin's scheme," as contained in the theses, was "unacceptable." At the April conferece, Rykov proclaimed, "The Sun of the Socialist revolution can rise only in the western skies."

These people were relentlessly exposed by the Party of the Bolsheviks. The agenda of the April Conference was set up on the basis of, and in agreement with, the April theses. The party of the Bolsheviks, schooled in the course of many years in the Leninist theory of the transformation of the bourgeois—democratic revolution into the Socialist revolution, and in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, rallied, round Lenin's platform. The opportunists were ruthlessly checked. At the All—Russian April Conference, Comrade Stalin exposed Kamenev as a lackey of the reformists. The conference followed Lenin, and only seven or eight people abstained from voting on Lenin's proposals. Here, once again the ideological unity of the Party showed itself.

The April theses have played a world—historical role as they showed to the working class the ways and means of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this does not exhaust the importance of the Lenin theses. This document will live for centuries, like the Communist Manifesto and Marx's "Capital", which showed the world the role of the proletariat as the grave—diggers of capitalism. This document will live like "What is to be done?" and other works of Lenin, which have laid the basis of Bolshevism. Continuing and further developing this Leninist line is also, in the same rank,—STALIN'S "PROBLEMS OF LENINISM."

The Leninist theses of 1917 will continue to serve the working class still further. From them the working class will be able to derive the greatest teachings on strategy, tactics and the organisation of the struggle for the victory of Socialism in every country.

TWENTY YEARS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

—THE JULY DAYS—

A Chapter from the Russian Revolution.

Revolution is an art and a science. It is the duty of every Revolutionary, worth his salt, to master the technique, the strategy and the tactics of Revolution. He should be thoroughly familiar with the existing social strata, forces and conditions. He should be able to voice the feelings of the people, to put forward *their* demands and to *wage their* battle to a successful conclusion. He should be able to coordinate the immediate local struggle with the ultimate issues in the whole framework of a national revolution. He should be able to weigh and judge the consequences of every action, before initiating it, against the perspective and background of ultimate wider struggles. He should know where to halt and restrain, and where to strike and push forward, when to be on the defensive and when to launch an offensive. Only when there are revolutionaries of this type and calibre in a political party—only then can that party *lead*—and lead a *successful* Revolution.

The November Revolution will always remain an outstanding example of successful revolutionary leadership full of inspirations and valuable lessons for revolutionaries of all lands for all times to come. Here let us take the 'July Days'—a memorable chapter in the history of the Russian Revolution. In July 1917 the Russian Bourgeoisie had precipitated a crisis by withdrawing their representatives from the Provisional Government, and there by provoking an insurrection. Feeling was very tense all over the country and the workers, townsmen, soldiers, and peasants were ready for armed action. It seemed that a rising was imminent. Yet the Bolsheviks, with great tact, determination and energy restrained the people and held them back. They stemmed the tide and the dam did not burst. Why? Because to lead an insurrection then, would have been premature, suicidal—it would be playing into the hands of the Bourgeoisie. Here are the facts; now judge for yourself.

All through May, and especially in June, strikes were continually breaking out all over the country, the workers demanding an eight hour day and an improvement in their material conditions.

The bourgeoisie assumed the offensive, The class purpose of this offensive

was blabbed out with cynical frankness by RYABUSHINSKY, a big industrialist. He gleefully announced at a congress of merchants and industrialists that the time would soon arrive when "the bony hand of famine and national poverty would seize the friends of the people—the members of all these committees and Soviets—by the throat."

In May, 108 factories employing 8,701 workers were closed down, in June, 125 factories employing 38,455 workers and in July, 206 factories employing 47,754. The output of metal declined by 40 per cent, and of textile by 20 per cent.

The Military Offensive

The Cadets, the principal party of the bourgeoisie and landlords, seeing the influence of their "allies" the Social—Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—waning, devised new methods of retaining the support of the masses. The calculations of the Cadets were to involve the Army in an offensive with the aid of the compromisers. Victory at the front would evoke a new wave of patriotism and the burning questions of the revolution—land, and the condition of the workers-could be sabotaged.

The British and French imperialists were likewise demanding active measures.

The offensive began on July 1. In Petrograd, thousands of workers and soldiers were sternly marching, demanding peace. In the streets of the capital, the workers were tearing down banners with the motto "Confidence in the Government!" while at the front, under this same motto, thousands of the finest members of the toiling classes of the country were being maimed and destroyed in the trail of shell-fire.

Prepared in a hurry, and based on fraud and cunning, the Kerensky—Brussilov offensive collapsed. Within four or five days the gulf between the soldiers and the bourgeois commanding officers became fully revealed. *In the ten days the offensive lasted, the armies on the South—Western Front lost about 60,000 men.*

The bourgeoisie attempted to foist the whole blame on the Bolsheviks. On July, 6, as soon as the first news of the defeat arrived, GENERAL BRUSSILOV sent an urgent wire to KERENSKY.

"I CONSIDER THAT THE SANITATION OF THE ARMY CAN BE AFFECTED ONLY AFTER SANITATION OF THE REAR AND AFTER THE PROPAGANDA OF THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE LENINISTS HAS BEEN PROCLAIMED CRIMINAL AND PUNISHABLE AS HIGH TRESON."

The Tsarist general betrayed a secret of the offensive; its purpose was not so much to wage war on Germany as to combat revolution. He realised that by the time of the June offensive the revolution had taken a firm hold in the army and threatented to wrest it from the grasp of the reactionaries.

Growth in the Forces of Revolution

Simultaneously, the forces of revolution grew in intensity.

Not one of the aims of the revolution had yet been achieved. Food difficulties increased. Economic dislocation spread from region to region and from district to district. The DONBAS was seething and the conflicts between the employers there did not cease for a moment. A wave of strikes swept over the URALS. Over 20,000 workers of the Sormovo Works in the NIZHNI NOVGOROD region went on strike. Prolonged industrial conflicts became normal occurrences in MOSCOW district.

The agrarian revolution spread rapidly in the country districts. By July, 43 gubernias were affected by the peasant movement. The peasants rose against the landlords despite the Social-Revolutionaries, entrenched in the peasant Soviets.

The movement of the workers and peasants was bound to react on the army, in which there were special causes arousing acute discontent among the soldiers. There were persistent rumours that death penalty was to be restored at the front and that refractory regiments were to be disbanded.

The struggle was particularly acute in PETROGRAD. The most alarming fact for the bourgeoisie and the compromisers was that these demonstrations invariably assumed a political, and very often a Bolshevik character. The situation was aggravated by the sinister news from the front. The thousands of deserters from the front confirmed these reports. The headquarter staffs of the armies complained on the arbitrary removal of officers by the soldiers' committees. But what the commissars and generals spoke of, most of all in their telegrams, was the universal fraternisation. Control of the army was slipping from the fingers of the commanders.

Resignation of the Cadet Ministers from the Government.

Urgent measures had to be taken by the bourgeoisie before the news of the defeat at the front added fuel to the flames, particularly in view of the fact that the Government was obliged, by the pressure of the masses, to appoint the convocation of the Constituent Assembly for October 14. The collapse of the offensive and the alarming news from the countryside left not the slightest doubt that the peasant delegates in the Constituent Assembly would adopt a position far more Left than that of their official leaders, the Social-Revolutionaries.

Taking advantage of a chance pretext, the bourgeoisie on July 15 withdrew its representatives from the Government.

The bourgeoisie expected that the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheiks would fear to take the power into their own hands. The Cadets knew that the compromisers, scared at the threat of the bourgeois Ministers to resign from the Government, would cling to them convulsively and consent to any concession. It was in the interests of the Cadets to provoke a crisis in the Government, thus wresting full power from the scared petty-bourgeoisie and then launch a determined attack on Bolshevism.

The Cadets, however, had miscalculated. Their manoeuvre created a crisis not only in the Government, but also, in the country.

At the first news of the manoeuvre of the Cadets the First Machine-Gun Regiment came out on the morning of July 16 with placards bearing the inscriptions, "Let the bourgeoisie perish by our machine-guns!" and "Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!" The machine-gunners elected delegates and dispatched them in haste to other regiments, to the big factories and the Cronstadt. Everywhere the machine-gunners' delegates found the atmosphere heated to incandescence and the masses spoiling for a fight. The Executive Committees of the Kronstadt Soviet resolved to join in the action of the Petrograd garrison and appointed the time of assembly of the armed units for despatch to Petrograd for 6. a. m. on July 17.

The Tactics of the Bolsheviks.

The Bolshevik Party was well aware of the state of feeling in the army and among the workers in the factories. It fully realised how much revolutionary energy had accumulated among the rank and file. But the Party did not consider the time ripe for an armed fight, and it was not on the initiative of the Bolsheviks that the masses came out on to the streets in the July days. On July 5, a joint conference of members of the Central Committee, the petrograd Committee and the Bolshevik military organisations had stressed the fact that the moment was not

favourable for an armed fight. Lenin warned the Party that it was in the interests of the bourgeoisie to provoke the revolutionary masses to come out on to the streets before the revolutionary ferment had spread to the whole country.

"Let the future Cavaignacc begin first", LENIN said.

The Bolshevik Party realised that, important as Petrograd was, it alone would not decide the issue of the revolution. It would be madness to resort to action without the proletarians of the Urals, without the miners of the Donbas, and without the soldier millions. The army was obviously slipping from the grasp of the government, the army ALREADY did not trust the Provisional Government, but it was STILL under the influence of its committees, which were dominated by the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

In pursuance of the instructions of the Party, the Bolsheviks, and particularly the representatives of the military organisation of the Party, declared on July 16, against armed action. But the excitement of the soldiers and workers in the capital had already reached bursting point.

The Second Petrograd City Conference of the Bolshevik Party was being held just at this time (July 14-16). At about 5 p. m. On July, 16, STALIN, speaking on behalf of a joint meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee and the Conference, which had been held at 4 p.m., officially diclared at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet that the Party decided not to take action. An appeal was immediately drawn up and sent to the "PRAVADA" to be published on the morning of July 17. The members who had attended the meeting and the conference hurried to the districts to restrain the masses from action. But it was already too late to halt the movement. The people listened to the Bolsheviks impatiently and then flocked into the streets.

In these circumstances the Bolsheviks decided to place themselves at the head of the demonstration—and to protect the demonstration by armed Red Guards in the event of provocative action by the counter—revolutionaries.

"The demonstration was under way" STALIN later said at the conference of the Petrograd Bolsheviks.

"We had no right to wash our hands as the Party of the proletariat, we were obliged to intervene in the demonstration and lend it a peaceful and organised character, without setting ourselves the aim of seizing power by force of arms".

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party resolved to assume charge of the spontaneous movement and lend it an organised form. A peaceful demonstration was appointed for July 17, under the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" An appeal was issued in a leaflet form. It declared to the workers and soldiers of Petrograd:

"Now that the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has openly come out in opposition to the revolution, let the All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies take the entire power into its own hands."

The July Demonstration

On July 17, a powerful demonstration took place, this time led by the Bolshevik Party. A staff committee was formed to guide the movement and instructions were drawn up. The demonstrators were protected by armoured cars stationed in various parts of the city. A company from the first Machine-Gun Regiment was sent to the Fortress of Peter and Paul.

Sailors from kronstadt and troops from Peterhof, Oranienbaum, Krasnoye Syelo and other places joined the demonstration on July 17. The sailors

from Kronstadt assembled before the Kshesinska Palace and insistently requested to hear the leader of the Party, Lenin.

Lenin addressed them in a brief speech. He expressed the conviction that the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" would prevail. At the same time, Lenin appealed for "firmness, steadfastness and vigilance."

The demonstration marched to the Taurida Palace, where the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets held its sessions. There the demonstrators elected a delegation to transmit the demands of the masses. Under the pressure of the demonstration—about half a million workers and soldiers—the leaders of the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionories made a sham retreat.

While the demonstrators were fervidly calling for the power of the Soviets, behind their backs the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were feverishly mobilising their forces against the revolution. The 14th Cavalry Division, the 14th Don Cossack Regiment and other units were immediately dispatched from the front. Assistant Minister of the Marine sent instructions to the submarines in Helsingfors not to hesitate to sink the revolutionary ships if they set sail for Petrograd. The Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were more energetic than former Tsar Nicholas in withdrawing troops from the front for the purpose of combating the revolution.

In various parts of the city provocateurs and counter-revolutionaries began to fire from rifles on the demonstrators. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee appointed two Social-Revolutionaries - AUKSENYEV and GOTZ—to assist the Government commission appointed "to restore and maintain revolutionary order in Petrograd." On the morning of July 18, the offices of the PRAVDA and the Trud (Labour) Printshop were wrecked by counter-revolutionary detachments.

Believing that the demonstration was over, the Bolsheviks had already on July 17, called upon the demonstrators to disperse quietly. But in view of the attacks by the Junkers and Cossacks, the sailors remained in Petrograd. They occupied the Kshesinska Palace and the Fortress of Peter and paul and together with the machine-gunners prepared to defend themselves.

On the night of July 18, fresh reinforcements for the Government arrived from the front. At that wholesale arrests, house searches and pogroms were taking place in various parts of the city. The working class quarters were cut off from the centre.

The Shameful Alliance of the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries with the Counter Revolution.

The Situation on July 18 and 19, was described by Comrade Stalin in a report he made to the Petrograd City Conference of the Bolshevik Party.

"On July 18, negotiations took place with the Central Executive Committee represented by Lieber. Lieber made the condition that we (i.e., the Bolsheviks—Ed.) should remove the armoured cars from the Kshesinska Palace. and that the sailors should return to Kronstadt. We agreed on the condition that the Soviet would protect our Party organisations from attacks. In the name of the Central Executive Committee, Lieber assured us that our conditions would be observed by the Central Executive Committee and that the Kshesinska Palace would remain at our disposal until we received permanent quarters. We fulfilled our promises. The armoured cars were removed and the Kronstadt sailors agreed to return, only with their arms. The Central Committee, however, did not fulfil a single one of its promises."

Whilst the Bolsheviks tried to bring about peace and to prevent the counter-revolutionary Government troops from attacking, the Central Executive Committee, scared by the Bolsheviks

the counter-revolutionaries concluded a shameful alliance with the Government. Already on July 17, the Provisional Government had instructed commander of the Petrograd Military Area, Genaral Polovsrev, "to clear Petrograd of armed people."

The Government issued an order for the arrest of Lenin. A savage campaign was launched against the Bolshevik Party and its leaders. Lenin was slanderously accused of being a German spy.

On July 18, these libellous fabrications were published in a yellow sheet, ZHIVOYE SLOVO (THE LIVING WORD) by G. ALEXINSKY, a former Social-Democrat and member of the Second Duma, and by V. PANKRATOV, at one time a member of the Narodnaya Volya Party. The Provisional Government hesitated to publish these "documents" in its own name and instead, entrusted them to the persons mentioned DAN, the Menshevik leader, giving evidence before the Investigation Commission, declared that he did not believe in the complicity of the Bolsheviks in German espionage, but nevertheless asserted that German agents had taken part in the demonstration of July 16—18.

The counter-revolutionaries demanded that Lenin should be brought to trial. Lenin did not await arrest and went into hiding. Trotsky, Rykov, Kamenev demanded that Lenin should surrender to the authorities. But this was vigorously opposed by Stalin, who declared that there was no guarantee that Lenin would not be tortured to death. How right was Stalin's estimate of the danger that threatened Lenin is best shown by the testimony of GENERAL POLOVTSEV who wrote in his memoires.

"The officer who set out for Terioki in the hope of catching Lenin asked me whether I wanted this gentleman delivered whole or in pieces.... I replied with a smile that arrested men often attempt to escape."

On July 20, the Provisional Government decided to disband all military units that had taken part in the demonstration of July 16-18. On the very same day KERENSKY sent out a radiogram to "all", in which the lie about the participation of German Government agents in the July demonstrations was repeated.

On July 21, the Provisional Government endorsed Kerensky as Prime Minister, he at the same time retaining the posts of Minister of War and Minister of Marine. The Government had the whole—hearted support of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

On July 22, a joint meeting of the All—Russian Central Executive Committee and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies announced the new Government as "the Government for the salvation of the revolution".

On July 26, DAN, leader of the Mensheviks, proposed a resolution demanding that the Bolsheviks should be tried, that Lenin and Zinoviev should appear for trial, that all persons liable to trial should be expelled from the Soviet, and that all members of the Soviet should implicitly accept the decisions of its majority. This resolution revealed to what depths the petty—bourgeois parties had sunk. The Mensheviks and Social—Revolutionaries had completed the full cycle of their development, culminating in the period of compromise with the bourgeoisie by definite desertion to the enemies of the revolution.

On July 25, the Government restored the death penalty at the front and established court—martial, to deal with the revolutionary Soldiers. Decrees were also issued, introducing preliminary military censorship closing down the Bolshevik papers and providing for the disarmament of the workers. The programme outlined by Sir George

Buchanan, the British Ambassador, in his letter to Foreign Minister Teretchenko on July 17, was carried into effect in its entirety.

The Proletariat Loses Faith in the Compromisers.

The demonstrations of July 16-18 were smashed and the Bolshevik Party driven underground.

It appeared as if the movement had ended in DEFEAT. But, as a matter of fact it was in a way, a victory for the revolution gained in the process of its transformation from a bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie rather over-rated its success: the superficial, easily—discernable changes prevented it observing the profound process of shifting of class forces that was going on beneath the surface. By suppressing the July demonstrations, the bourgeoisie destroyed not the workers' revolution, but the workers' confidence in the petty bourgeois leaders.

Among the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, there were quite a number of rank and file Social—Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who now clearly realised the utter vileness of their leaders. While the leaders passed over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, the rank and file swung sharply towards Bolshevism.

After the first days of unbridled repression, the workers, as it were, retired into themselves, and having thought the question over, gradully went over to the Bolshevik camp.

The July events supplied the workers and peasants with an answer to the fundamental question of the revolution—in whose hands was the power? LENIN has expressed the following opinion of the July days:—

"The movement of July 16 and 17 was the last attempt by way of demonstrations to induce the Soviets to take power. At that moment the Soviets, i.e., the Social—Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in control of them, virtually handed over power to the counter—revolution. A peaceful development of the Russian Revolution has now become impossible, and the question as put by history is either a complete victory for the counter-revolution, or a new revolution."

The adoption of new tactics for the new stage of the revolution was a task undertaken by the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, August 8-16, 1917, at which Stalin read the following political report:

Stalin's Report.

"I pass on to what interests you most, to the events of July 16—18. On July 16, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at the Kshesinskaya Palace at the City Conference of the Party which was taking place at that time, the municipal question was being discussed. Suddenly two delegates from the Machine—Gun regiment rushed in and asked to be allowed to make an urgent statement. This being granted they said: 'They want to disband our regiment, we are being simply mocked at, we cannot wait any longer and have made up our minds to act, and with this purpose we have sent our delegates to the factories and regiments' The chairman of the City Conference, Volodarski, declared that the Party had decided not to demonstrate. To the Central Committee it was plain that both the bourgeoisie and the Black Hundreds would like to provoke us to act in order to be able to shift upon us the responsibility for the wild adventure of the offensive. We had determined to wait till after the offensive at the front, to let the offensive discredit itself once and for all in the eyes of the masses, not to yield to provocation, and so long as the offensive continues, not to act in any case, but to wait and allow the Provisional Government, to become exhausted. Comrade Volodarski replied to the delegates that the Party had decided not to demonstrate and that the members of the Party in their regi-

ment must submit to that decision. The representatives of the regiment left, protesting.

At four o'clock a meeting of the Central Committee was called at the Taurida Palace. The Central Committee decided to abstain from action. At the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Executive Committee, I announced in the name of the Central Committee of our Party that we had determined not to demonstrate. I reported all the facts to them, informing them that the Machine—Gun regiment had sent their delegates to the factories and work—shops. I proposed that the Bureau take all necessary measures to prevent the demonstration. That was entered in the minutes at our request. The Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who are now accusing us of preparing the demonstration, forget this. At five o'clock the City Conference voted not to demonstrate. All the members of the Conference dispersed throughout the districts and factories in order to restrain the masses from action. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Kshesinskaya Palace was approached by two regiments bearing banners with the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." Two comrades made speeches, Lashevich and Kurayev. Both of them tried to persuade the soldiers not to demonstrate, but to return to their baracks. They were met with wild shouts of "Down with them!" a thing which had never happened before. At the same moment a demonstration of workers appeared, under the slogan of "All power to the Soviets!" For all of us it became clear that the demonstration could not be prevented. Then a private conference of the members of the Central Committee decided in favour of intervening in the demonstration, of directing the soldiers and workers to act in an organised way, to go peacefully to the Taurida Palace, elect delegates and through them declare their demands. This decision was greeted by the soldiers with a roar of applause and the singing of the "Marseillaise". At about ten o'clock the members of the Central Committee and of the City Conference, together with the representatives of the regiments and factories, assembled in the Kshesinskaya Palace. It was thought necessary to decide the question over again, to intervene and take control of the movement already under way. It would have been nothing short of criminal for the Party to have washed its hands of the movement at that moment. Having come to this decision, the Central Committee went over to the Taurida Palace, since it was this place that the workers and soldiers were heading for. At that time a meeting of the Workers' Section of the Soviet was going on. Zinoviev made a speech and raised the question of the movement then already under way. Under the pressure of this event, the Workers' Section determined to intervene in the movement and to give it an organised character, since the masses, not having anything to guide them, might easily succumb to provocation. The section split on this question: a minority of one third left the meeting, the majority of two-thirds remained and chose a provisional committee of fifteen members with power to act. At eleven o'clock at night, the agitators and delegates began returning from the districts. The question set for discussion was, as to whether a demonstration should be organised on July 17.

The proposal not to organise a demonstration was rejected by a tremendous majority, as plainly Utopian. It was clear to everyone that the demonstration would take place whether we intervened or not, and the Central Committee together with the Petrograd Committee decided on a peaceful demonstration for July 17.

An announcement was to have been made in "PRAVDA" on July 16. about the decision not to demonstrate, but was withdrawn at the last moment,

but there was no time to insert another notice, so on July 17 "PRAVDA" appeared with a blank space on the front page. A leaflet was issued, the contents of which are probably known to all of you. It was clear to all that neither the seizure of power nor the dispersal of the Soviets was being contemplated. It would be unreasonable and illogical to accuse us who were desirous of transferring all power to the Soviets, of striving to take the power into our own hands by force of arms against the Soviets. It is characteristic that the representatives of so-called revolutionary democracy themselves admit that our Party did not think of organising an insurrection. This was declared openly by the official representative of the Executive Committee, Voitinsky. (Comrade Stalin read a clipping from the newspaper "IZVESTIA OF THE SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES" of July 17.) The same is said in the manifesto to the soldiers and workers issued by the Central Executive Committee. (C. E. C. of the Soviet. ED.) Incidentally, as regards Lenin, he was absent: he had gone away on July 12 and returned to Petrograd only on the morning of the 17th, after the decision to intervene in the movement had already been made. Our decision met with Lenin's approval. Not less than five hundred thousand people demonstrated. Rumours that the demonstrators wanted to arrest the ministers, that they had beaten them up, etc., are not true. Not a single attempt was made to seize a single institution unless you mean the outbursts of groups of hooligans and criminals. On July 17. when the demonstration was going off peacefully, firing was started against the demonstrators at the corner of the Nevski Prospect and Sadovaya Street.

A considerable number of delegations declared in their speeches that the only way out of the situation that had arisen was for the Soviets to take the power into their own hands. The Central Committee refused to do so. As a result a part of the soldiers went away, regarding their work as done; another part remained.

The turning point was the publication of the documents about "Lenin's treason." It became clear that the "material" had been ready at the military headquarders for a long time. After that it became clear that by publishing these documents they had intended to provoke the anger of the soldiers against the Bolsheviks. Obviously they calculated on playing upon the mentality of the soldiers who were expected to be influenced more than anything else by the news that lenin was a German Spy.

Minister Tsereteli telephoned and asked the newspapers not to print unsubstantiated reports, but "LIVING WORD" (Black Hundred Sheet which specialised in baiting the Bolsheviks. ED.) nevertheless, the papers published these documents."

Secondly, there were the rumours from the front that our lines had been broken, which fact was known only to the leaders of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This fact stunned the leaders. In connection with it, the attitude of the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks towards us changed abruptly. People who had talked to us like comrades summoned troops against us for the protection of the Taurida Palace, and declared us to be traitors to the revolution. An abrupt change had taken place in affairs, despite our decision to stop the demonstration which was to take place on the following day.

July 19. No demonstration. In the streets fresh troops brought from the front are marching. The Junkers have been brought in from the suburbs of Petrograd. The agents of the Military Intelligence Service are swarming on the street, examining passports and arresting people at random. On the

night of the 18th-19th the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries decided to declare a dictatorship and to disarm the workers and soldiers. The inspiration for this was, it appears, given by Tsereteli. He had wanted to do so as early as June 23, but at that time his proposal had been rejected at the suggestion of Martov, who declared that any fool could rule the country with guns. On July 19, our comrades Kamenev and Zinoviev, carried on negotiations with Lieber about protecting the members of our Party and party organisations from the attacks of hooligans, about restoring the editorial offices of "PRAVDA", etc. The negotiation ended in an agreement by which the armoured cars were to be removed from the Kshesinskaya Palace, the bridges were to be opened for traffice, the sailors who had remained in Petrograd were to return to Kronstadt, the troops which were left in the fortress of Peter and Paul were to be allowed to depart unhindered, and a guard was to be set at the Kszesinskaya Palace. But the agreement was not carried out, because behind the backs of the Central Executive Committee, which had declared the dictatorship, the military clique had begun to act. That became clear to everyone. The order was received from Kusmin, commandar of the Petrograd district, to clear the Kszesinskaya Palace immediately. (The Kszesinskaya Palace served as the headquarters of the Bolshevik Party.—Ed.) I set off for the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet with the proposal to settle the affair without bloodshed. To my question, "What do you want? To shoot at us? But we are not in revolt against the Soviets .."Bogdanov replied that they wanted to prevent bloodshed. We set off for headquarters. The military people met us in a hostile manner and said that the order had already been given. I got the impression that these gentlemen were anxious to organise some blood-letting at any price.

That is the role which our party played during these days.

The party did not want the demonstration, the Party wanted to wait for the policy of offensive on the front to be DISCREDITED. Nevertheless, the spontaneous movement, caused by the economic collapse of the country, by Kerensky's orders, by the sending of troops to the front, went on developing and the Party, since it did not wish to be a bystander, felt it was its duty to intervene in the movement.

What sort of a party of the masses would it be if it ignored the movenent of the masses! Our Party was always with the masses. Tzereteli and others who accuse us of intervening in the movement by that very accusation sign their own death-warrant. Th[illegible]k about bloodshed but the blo[illegible]d would have been more awful i[illegible] Party had not intervened in the mo[illegible]ment. It played the role of a regulat[illegible].

That is all I wanted to say about the political activity of the Central Committee.

Our Party was the only party which stood by the masses in their struggle against the counter—revolution, and we did everything we could to emerge with honour from the situation that had been created."

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TWENTY YEARS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The Struggle for Democracy

1917—1937—a period of twenty years! twenty years of hard bitter, struggle! The world has not been at a standstill—it has moved and moved fast with the times. Changing conditions have brought in new factors, and new factors have led to fresh struggles on different planes. Let us look back at it in perspective. Where were we then and where are we now?

Whereas twenty years ago we had a country which was in the midst of revolution, in which the bourgeois revolution was practically ended and petty bourgeois opportunist influence hampered the transition to the next higher stage, today we have fascism ruling in a number of countries. Whereas at that time there was no Socialist Power, and no Communist Party outside of Russia, today we have Socialism on a sixth of the earth and a strong, ideologically firm Communist International. If at that time opportunism hindered the transition to the next stage of the revolution and its essential task was to wrest the proletariat from petty bourgeois influence, to day the opportunists, the reactionary part of the leaders of the Social Democratic Parties are endeavouring to prevent the united front and the People's Front, to render impossible any serious action of the masses, and our task consists in freeing the Proletariat from the influence of the class enemy and at the same time drawing the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and above all the peasantry to the proletariat and placing them under the influence of the latter.

When one reads the words of Lenin about the necessity "to present a patient, systematic and persistent explanation of errors and tactics" to the masses, then one cannot help perceiving the tasks which confront us at the present time. It is not a question of such "patient, systematic and persistent" learning from mistakes in order to lead the masses to the fight against Fascism? There are some who wish to skip this work and do not recognise that they would thereby serve the enemy and lead the proletariat to defeat.

Do not the other words of Lenin apply today, where he speaks of the special conditions of Party work among the vast masses who are becoming active, when we see the enormous growth of the activity of the masses in France and Spain, and not only of the proletarian masses but the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, and above all of the peasantry, to whom the Party must devote attention and must organise? It is true the situation is different from what it was in 1917, but the special conditions of the present situation likewise demand tenacious work as described by Lenin, even if in other forms.

The difference between then and now is seen most clearly when one reads the following words, spoken by Lenin at the April Conference.

"We carefully avoid the words revolutionary democracy; WHEN IT IS A QUESTION OF AN ATTACK BY THE GOVERNMENT, then one

can talk about it, but now this phrase conceals the greatest fraud, because it is very difficult to keep apart the classes which are intermixed in this condition".

At that time all, even the big bourgeoisie, spoke about "revolutionary democracy" in order to conceal their real class interests. Today it is not only a question of an "attack by the Government", today we are experiencing the most violent attack of fascism, which has already led to the armed invassion of Spain. Today the class division is clear: the finance capitalists, the big bourgeoisie, are fighting under the flag of fascism against democracy; the proletariat, the most consistent revolutionary class, is fighting at the head of the people for democracy and there by rallies round it the masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

Those who pretend today to repeat Lenin's old slogans are in reality doing nothing but tear a quotation of Lenin from its context in order to apply it against Lenin's spirit. If in 1917 the slogan "revolutionary democracy" was a fraud by means of which the ruling classes wished to obtain influence over the proletariat, today all those slogans which are being opposed to the present main slogan "fight for democracy" are just the same fraud with the same aim.

Such a provocation and such a piece of deciet is being staged by the fascist gang of spies who are gathered round Trotsky. With their "political" slogans they are immediate assistants of the fascists, for nothing is more dangerous for the fascist Powers than a united struggle of the masses of the people for democracy under the leadership of the proletariat. These Trotskyists issue the allegedly "revolutionary" slogans in order to strengthen the anti—Bolshevist front of fascism and to win new allies.

The slogan of democracy was wrong after February, 1917, it was not progressive, it was reactionary; therefore the Trotskyists (Kamenev) at that time advocated this slogan. The slogan of democracy is a progressive one today, after the victory of fascism in a number of capitalist countries, the threatening danger in a number of others, and in view of the threatening imperialist fascist war. This slogan is capable of bringing the mass of the people unitedly into the struggle. Hence the fascist—Trotskyist gang are today conducting their provocative and slanderous struggle against this slogan.

Precisely for this reason it is necessary to say clearly *and emphatically*; twenty years after Lenin's April Theses the immediate task today, on the basis of the concrete analysis of the situation, is the defence of Spanish democracy and its People's Front; today we are confronted with the task of conducting the struggle against fascism, for democracy, in an organised manner by means of the People's Front. Only by this means shall we proceed to the emancipation of the working class and of the whole of the people.

TWENTY YEARS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The Third Five—Year Plan

Twenty years of the Soviet regime in the USSR have been twenty years of hard work, bitter struggle, careful planning and rapid progress. For the first time in History a country-nay a Federation comprising a quarter of the World's land area; a people comprising one sixth of the World's population, have embarked upon scientific Socialist construction. For the first time in History, production and distribution of commodities has been arranged according to planned economy. The First and the Second Five-Year Plans, conceived and executed during the last ten years, are landmarks in this Socialist construction in the Soviet Union which tell their story, in facts and figures, of what was planned and what was achieved. The year 1937 marks the conception and inauguration of the Third Five-Year Plan.

What has been achieved so far in Russia? How does Russia of today compare with the Russia of five years ago—of ten years-ago of twenty years ago? How does the forward rate of progress of Socialist Russia compare with the rate of progress of the non-Socialist, bourgeois, imperialist, feudal or fascist economics of the rest of the world? The Third Five-Year Plan answers this.

What has been planned for the years that lie ahead of the Soviet Union? How will the USSR compare with the other countries of the world five-years hence? To what end are the Soviet people striving? In what fields of industry are they concentrating their energies? In what direction are they redoubling their efforts? The Third Five-Year Plan answers all this.

Would you like to know how the State Planning Commission of the USSR work? Well, listen to this account of an American Engineer who recently visited the Soviet Union.

We are in a skyscraper of American design, whither we have come to discover the secret of how the Soviet nation will lead the world economically, after it has gained the first place in the world socially as a result of the October Revolution and the abolition of classes. It is the house of the COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS and its economic staff, the STATE PLANNING COMMISSION. One of the six lifts carries us up into the seventh floor, to the "synthetic" Departments of the State Planning Commission, into its very heart. What do they do in these Departments? It is known how much coal, iron, steel, corn, shoes, sugar, toys, cement, newspaper pulp, cotton, soap is produced-through the separate specialised Departments for power, Metal Production, Engineering Works Chemical Industry, etc. Is it not sufficient to add together the figures of these different branches? No, the separate plans must become one whole. Out of the play and interplay of the economic forces, as it is observed in the separate branches of production, in the Synthetic Departments is produced the harmony of the entire Socialist economy.

The work done in the Synthetic Departments is as varied as modern Socialist enonomy itself. The Depart-

ment for COORDINATION OF PRODUCTION is the most important. Here the individual plans of industry, agriculture and transport are brought into agreement. Heavy industry supplies light industry with machines. Agriculture produces raw materials for the food industry. Wheat and potatoes, cotton and meat must be transported before they are worked up or consumed. All this cannot be entirely decided in the individual brances of production. Possibly the textile industry requires more machines than are provided for in the plan of the textile machine industry. So the plans must be made to agree. Here the plan must be extended, there the allocation must be reduced. Thus, out off all the individual plans there emerges something quite new-the PLAN.

In close cooperation with this department stands the DEPARTMENT FOR THE BALANCE OF MATERIALS. Here are balanced not only production of, and demand for, coal, iron and other standard products. The balance extends into details, Rails and tubes are balanced as well as packing and rotary paper.

A further important task of economic synthesis is performed in the DEPARTMENT FOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT. On the basis of the demands and the possibilities of the whole of economy it is here decided on what scale capital investments shall be made. In 1937 they amount to the enormous sum of 32.5 milliard roubles, and increase the basic capital of the Socialist economy in this one year by a full sixth from 163 to 189 milliard roubles. Further, the distribution of capital investment over industry, agriculture, transport, distribution and cultural aims is decided on, and finally it is settled where, in what city or what area capital is to be invested and when investment is to begin.

Other synthetic tasks are performed by the FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT (price policy, budget, credit, circulation of money); the Home Trade Department (how many goods are to appear on the market and when; how many of them are to go to the cities and how many to the country, how many into the different areas, etc.), the FOREIGN TRADE DEPARTMENT, which fixes the extent of import and export of the different products.

Particular interest attaches to the special synthetic Departments for LABOUR, CULTURE and ART, HEALTH and DEFENCE. They have organised the care of man, care for his work, his higher qualification, his wages, social achievements, productivity of labour, care for the furtherance of schools and cultural activities theatres and cinemas, care for his health through the new erection and improvement of hospitals, ambulatoria, convalescent homes, sanatoria, and finally the interest in the defence of peace for the great work of building Socialism and for the whole world.

Built upon the scientific knowledge of the entire economy and of man, based on the unshakable foundation of Socialist property in the means of production, the plans are a guide to the creative energy of a people of 107 millions. With the precision of a time table they determine the course of the Soviet economy into the future, for they are the expression of the will and capacity of liberated men, who own the work of their hands in the land of Socialism.

As long as Socialist property in the means of production did not predominate in the total economy, it was impossible to make a complete plan. In the rural districts it was formerly possible only to regulate in part by means of prices, taxes and obligations to deliver. Only now, when the Second Five-Year Plan has completed collectivisation, when instead of 25 million peasant holdings there are 244000 collective farms, when 99 per cent. of the cultivable area belongs to State and collective farms and only 1 per

cent. to individual peasants-only now can the plan really cover agriculture. And it is the same in trade. While in 1932 there was still a good deal of private trade, it is now entirely socialised, in the cities in the hands of the State, and in the country in the hands of the cooperatives.

The organisation of the work of planning is along two lines; territorially, and according to the branches of production. There are Planning Commissions, beginning with the Union and extending through the separate Federal and Autonomous Republics right down to the different areas, cities and regions. On the other side there are also Planning Commissions beginning with the People's Commissariats, through the main authorities, the industrial trusts, down to the factories and the separate works departments. They are in contact with each other. All planning organs, including the State Planning Commission, are only auxiliary organs of the Governments, of the Union and the Rupublics, of the individual executive committees of the Soviets. These, and not the planning organs, give the planning directives.

In the bigger plans, beginning with annual plans, two stages of their development can be distinguished: preparation and elaboration. In the first stage, that of preparation, the political tasks are propounded which the plan has to fulfil. In the case of, e. g., the Second Five Year Plan, such a task was the abolition of classes. The general degree of development is laid down. In this stage the entire public is brought in to consultation. Thus, at present a great discussion is going in the Soviet Press on the problems of the Third Five Year Plan, and everything which is said in the Press is very carefully considered.

On the basis of all the material, suggestions, proposals and drafts the State Planning Commission works out the DRAFT PLAN, which is sent to the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. In this it is already decided how many capital investments are to be made in the whole economy, in its most important branches, and in the most important areas. Further, the total production and its amount in the most important branches, electricity, fuel, and metal industry, engineering, textile, foodstuffs, the area to be cultivated, and the extent of railway traffic are laid down. Together with this draft, Draft Plans of the separate People's Commissariats and Republics are sent to the Government. The Draft Plan of the State Planning Commission is now examined and, if necessary, altered.

Then begins the second stage, the concrete elaboration of the Plan in all its details. The examination of the detailed Plan gives the republics and People's Comissariats another chance to make any objections. Individual localities and factories also sometimes appeal to the Government direct, in order to have their demands included in the Plan. On the basis of the Plan as finally approved by the Government contracts for delivery are concluded by the different undertakings, whereby naturally proper payment, maintenance of the stipulations as to quality etc., are the condition of actual fulfilment.

When the Plan is finally settled it really begins to come to life. In the factories and collective farms monthly, weekly and daily Plans are set up in accordance with it. At suitable points boards are put up in public giving a view of how it is being fulfilled. There are black boards for those who carry out their tasks badly, and red ones for those who overfulfill the plan. Thus each week there is a general competition with a shifting up and down of places. Execution and control of the Plan are closely inter-connected. The Soviet public can follow day by day how the plan is being fulfilled in these branches of industry. The People's Commissariats give information every ten days

to the State Planning Commission, and every month to the Central Statistical Office, which issues regular statistical bulletins.

If serious gaps are found anywhere, then the State Planning Commission lays the question before the Government, and simultaneously makes suggestions as to how the fulfilment of the Plan can be assured. This occurred, for example, recently in the case of the lag in production of the Donetz Basin coal mines and the paper industry, and last year of the failure to develop water transport.

Together with the State Planning Commission, all agencies of the Party and the Government, and especially the Press and the Soviet public co-operate continuously in the fulfilment and control of the Plan. The more all the many millions of workers in the Soviet Union become, with the liquidation of classes, conscious builders of Socialism, the more Scientific democracy develops on the basis of the Stalin Constitution, the more clearly everyone realises the truth of the words uttered by Comrade Stalin at the Conference of Economists in 1931:

"It would be foolish to believe that a production plan is an enumeration of figures and tasks. In its essence the production plan is the living, practical activity of millions of human beings."

Would you like some facts and figures about the Third Five-Year Plan? The following will give you an idea.

"By means of the Second Five-Year Plan our industrial production has won first place in Europe and second place in the world. Through the Third Five-Year Plan we shall continue this development, and this at a rate which it is impossible for any capitalist country to achieve."

This is what Comrade AIGINSON, the leader of the Synthetic Department of the Planning Commission, told us. He came from the proletariat, and Tsarist Russia provided him with only two years' education at an elementary school. The outbreak of the proletarian revolution, to which he has devoted his whole life, found him occupying a humble post as a clerk in a sick insurance society. After several years' work in the trade unions the Communist Party sent him to the Academy for Planned Economy. On leaving the Academy he was immediately able to employ his knowledge and talents and took part in the working out of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The figures for 1929, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan in which the industrial production of the Soviet Union amounted to twice the pre-war level, can no longer serve as a measure for comparison. The Soviet Union to day needs another measure. In the 13 years from 1900 to 1913 the increase in the output of Russian industry amounted to 5½ milliard roubles In the year 1936 alone Soviet industry showed a growth of 19 milliard roubles.

"At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan our industrial output will be at least twice as much as the German. We shall nearly, but not quite, come up to the level of the United States."

These are the new scales. The Soviet Union is catching up with America. The formerly most backward country is attaining to the level of the most advanced capitalist States, as is to be seen from the following table:

Place of the Soviet Union in World Production

	1928	1936	1942
Production of Electric Current	10	2	2
Coal	6	4	2
Steel	5	3	2
Copper	9	3	2
Lead	24	6	2
Superphosphate	18	2	1
Sugar	5	3	1

England, France and Germany are being left behind. Only the United States will dispute with the Soviet

Union for the first place. The Soviet Union has already attained first place in regard to aluminium and agricultural machinery, and will soon catch up with the U. S. A, in the production of motor-lorries.

The Soviet Union will also make considerable progress in agriculture. It already occupies first place in the world in the production of wheat, rye and sugar-beets. The Third Five-Year Plan will bring about great progress in regard to the productivity of agricultural labour, as the following figures show:

Place of the Soviet Union in World Agriculture According to yield per hectare:

	1928	1936	1942
Wheat	10	7	3
Sugar-beets	11	—	2
Cotton	3	2	1

Soviet agriculture will surpass the average American yield, but will not yet surpass that of Germany and France with their century-old traditions of intensive cultivation.

The aim set by STALIN of achieving a harvest of 7 to 8 milliard poods of grain (a pood is equal to 36 pounds) a year will be fulfilled in the Third Five-Year Plan.

The utilisation of all scientific progress for improving production will raise the output of labour to at least the present level of the United States of America. It will render it possible to make the Stakhanov standards the normal standards and create a secure basis for a tremendous increase of the social well-being of the working masses. Price reductions on the one hand and wage increase on the other will raise the standard of living of the people of the Soviet Union to a level enjoyed by no other people in the world.

The rapid promotion of the well—being of the masses and of culture in general will be one of the main features of the Third Five—Year Plan. Here there exists no possiblity of comparison even with the United States, for this well—being and culture is possible only under Socialism.

With the Third Five—Year Plan the peoples of the Soviet Union will make a great step forward on the road to Communism. The difference between town and country, between workers and collective peasants, will still further disappear. The worker will be raised more and more to the level of the engineer and technician, and the collective farm peasant to the level of the agronomist. The difference between physical and mental work will become continually less. This means that, with the increase of the abundance of products, further advance will be made on the road to Communism.

Capitalist America lags far behind. How trifling appears the momentary increase in production in the U. S. A. compared with that of the Soviet Union. After eight years the United States has again attained to the 1929 level of output. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has in the same period increased its output five-fold. At the end of the Third Five Year Plan the land of the Soviet Star will have nearly caught up with the country of the star-spangled banner.

"Is it not a miracle?" asked Comrade Stalin at the 17th Party Congress of the CPSU at the beginning of 1934, and he replied:

"It would have been a miracle had this development proceeded on the basis of capitalism and individual small economy. But it cannot be described as a miracle if we bear in mind that this development proceeded on the basis of expanding Socialist construction. It goes without saying that this enormous progress could take place only on the basis of the successful building of Socialism, on the basis of the Social labour of tens of millions of people, on the basis of the advantages which the Socialist system of economy has over the capitalist and individual peasant systems."

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